RIN-CHEN-BZAN-PO AND THE RENAISSANCE OF BUDDHISM IN TIBET AROUND THE MILLENIUM

ŚATA-PIṬAKA SERIES

INDO-ASIAN LITERATURES

Volume 348

Reproduced in original scripts and languages
Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by specialists of the East and the West

Founded by
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आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां

(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

Rin-chen-bzan-po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet Around the Millenium

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English version of
INDO-TIBETICA II

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ADITYA PRAKASHAN
NEW DELHI

First published in Italian:

Roma, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Nov. 1932.

Translated into English: New Delhi, 1988.

© Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, Roma, Italy.

ISBN : 81-85179-19-0 (set)
ISBN : 81-85179-21-2
Rs. 180

Published by Rakesh Goel for Aditya Prakashan,
4829/1, Prahlad Lane, 24, Ansari Road, New Delhi and printed at
Crescent Printing Works (Pvt.) Ltd., P-14, Connaught Circus, New Delhi 110001.

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PREFACE

Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po is the key figure in the Later Spread of Dharma after its persecution by Glaṅ-dar-ma in A.D. 901. Due to him it first appeared in Mṅaḥ-ris and later on spread to Dbus and Gtsaṅ. He is famous for his translations of both the sūtras and tantras, and extensive explanations of the Prajñāpāramita. The Blue Annals says: "The later spread of the Tantras in Tibet was greater than the early spread, and this was chiefly due to this translator (lo-tsa-ba). He attended on seventy-five paṇḍitas, and heard from them the exposition of numerous treatises on the Doctrine. Bla-chen-po Lha-lde-btsan bestowed on him the dignity of Chief Priest (*dbuḥi mchod-gnas*) and of Vajrācārya (*rdo-rje slob-dpon*). He was presented with the estate of Źer in Spu-hraṅs, and built temples. He erected many temples and shrines at Khra-tsa, Roṅ and other localities, as well as numerous stūpas. He had many learned disciples, such as Gur-śiṅ Brtson-grus-rgyal-mtshan and other, as well as more than ten translators who were able to correct translations (źus-chen pher-baḥi lo-tsa-ba). Others could not compete with him in his daily work, such as the erection of images and translation of (sacred texts), etc. He paid for the recital of the Nāma-saṅgīti a hundred thousand times in the Sanskrit language, and a hundred thousand times in Tibetan, and made others recite it a hundred thousand times". (Blue Annals 68-69).

"This Great Translator on three occasions journeyed to Kasmira, and there attended on many teachers. He also invited many panditas to Tibet and properly established the custom of preaching (the Yoga Tantras). (Blue Annals 352).

In Tibet the system of Jñānapāda was first introduced by the Great Translator Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po. The latter preached it to his disciples and it was handed down through their lineage (Blue Annals 372). The widely propagated teaching and manuals of meditation (*sgrub-yig*) according to the initiation and Tantra

of Śrī-Saṁvara, originated first in the spiritual lineage of the disciples of the Great Translator Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Blue Annals 380).

"At that time the lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po thought: 'His knowledge as a scholar is hardly greater than mine, but since he has been invited by Lha-bla-ma, it will be necessary (for me) to attend on him.' He accordingly invited him to his own residence at the vihāra of Mtho-ldiṅ. (In the vihāra) the deities of the higher and lower Tantras were represented according to their respective degrees and for each of them the Master composed a laudatory verse. When the Master sat down on the mat, the lo-tsa-ba (Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po) inquired from him: 'Who composed these verses?'—'These verses were composed by myself this very instant' replied the Master, and the lo-tsa-ba was filled with awe and amazement. The Master then said to the lo-tsa-ba: 'What sort of doctrine do you know?' The lo-tsa-ba told him in brief about his knowledge and the Master said: 'If there are men such as you in Tibet, then there was no need of my coming to Tibet!' Saying so, he joined the palms of his hands in front of his chest in devotion. Again the Master asked the lo-tsa-ba 'O great lotsa-ba when an individual is to practise all the teachings of Tantras sitting on a single mat, how is he to act?' The lo-tsa-ba replied: 'Indeed, one should practise according to each (Tantra) separately.' The Master exclaimed: 'Rotten is the lo-tsa-ba! Indeed there was need of my coming to Tibet! All these Tantras should be practised together.' The Master taught him the 'Magic Mirror of the Vajrayâna' (Gsaṅ-sṅags-ḥphrul-gyi me-loṅ), and a great faith was born in the lo-tsa-ba, and he thought: 'This Master is the greatest among the great scholars!' He requested the Master to correct (his) previous translations. . . .

"The Master said: 'I am going to Central Tibet (Dbus), you should accompany me as interpreter. At that time the great lo-tsa-ba was in his 85th year, and taking off his hat, he said to the Master (pointing out to his white hair): 'My head has gone thus, I am unable to render service'. It is said that the great lo-tsa-ba had sixty learned teachers, besides the Master, but these others failed to make the lo-tsa-ba meditate. The Master said: 'O great lo-tsa-ba! The sufferings of this phenomenal world are difficult to bear. One should labour for the benefit of all living beings. Now, pray practise meditation!' The lo-tsa-ba listened attentively to these words, and erected a house with three doors, over the outer door he wrote the following words: 'Within this door, should a thought of attachment to this Phenomenal World arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head!' Over the middle door (he wrote): 'Should a thought of self-interest arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head.' Over the inner door (he wrote): 'Should an ordinary thought arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head' (The first inscription corresponds to the stage of Theravāda, the second to that of the Bodhisattva-yāna, and the third to the Tantrayāna). After the departure of the Master, he practised 'one-pointed' (ekāgra) meditation for ten years and had a vision of the maṇḍala of Śrī-Saṁvara. He passed away at the age of 97". (Blue Annals 249-250).

While Buddhism spread anew with greater purity and its understanding deepened by the new sūtras and tantras, Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po realised that the translations of sacred texts alone would not do, and to irradiate the faith temples would have to be built and would also have to be attractive to draw people. He brought with him artists and craftsmen from Kashmir to embellish temples newly built all over the country. The temples at Tsaparang, Tholing, Tabo and elsewhere in Western Tibet bear clear evidence of the craftsmanship of Kashmiri masters. The murals of Maṅ-naṅ temple are the only surviving frescoes of the Kashmiri idiom known today. There is a sharp distinction between the school of Guge and the school of Central Tibet, inspite of the same spiritual world. While Guge leaned on Kashmir because of geographic proximity, Central Tibetan schools were influenced by the Pāla and Nepalese idiom (Tucci 1949:1.272-275).

The biographies of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po afford very few dates in his life. The main chronological landmarks are:

A.D.	*Age*	
958	—	He was born at Rad-nis.
970	13	He was ordained by Ye-śes-bzaṅ-po in Mṅaḥ-ris proper.
975	18	He set out for Kashmir and stayed for 13 years in India.

1042 85 He met Atiśa on arrival in Tibet.
1055 98 He passed into nirvāṇa at Khva-tse Viṅ-gir (Blue Annals 69).

Since Prof. Tucci published his monograph in 1933, very few original sources or studies have appeared on Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po. In 1977, Rdo-rje-tshe-brtan brought out *Collected Biographical Material about Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po and his subsequent re-embodiments* (Delhi: Laxmi Printing Works). It reproduces manuscripts from the library of the Dkyil Monastery in Spiti. The third text in this collection is a biography of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po by Dpal-ye-śes of Khyi-thaṅ in Guge. It has been translated into English by David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritge of Ladakh*, 2.83-100.

A manuscript of the biography of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po by Dpal-ye-śes entitled *Bla-ma lotstsh-ba-chen-poḥi rnam-par-thar-pa: Dri-ma-med-pa śel-gyi ḥphreṅ zes-bya-ba* (19 folios) has been reproduced at the end of this volume.

LOKESH CHANDRA

§ 1. *Historical background*

Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po is without doubt one of the most important figures in the history of Tibetan Buddhism and a man distinctly representative of the period in which he lived. In him converged and united the characteristics and spiritual needs of his people and his age. It would not be useless, therefore, to study his figure as an apostle of Buddhism in the Land of Snows, in the light of the material that is available today.

In recalling his person, his travels, and his works we can relive that spiritual atmosphere and that historic moment to which he belonged. In illuminating the events in which he took part or which happened around him, it will be possible to clarify several points that are still obscure in the history of Western Tibet, and in general, the role that he played in the rebirth of Buddhism in the plateaus of the Himalayas.

Only Francke (1) has mentioned on several occasions the work of the Lotsava Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, from which he justly recognized him as one of the greatest constructors of temples and sacred edifices in Indian Tibet and as the translator of the Prajñāpāramitā—the versions of which we will see subsequently—that is one of those mystical treatises that represent the essential foundation of the Mahāyāna dogma and that constitute together the necessary prerequisite of the mystical experiences described and elaborated in Tantric literature. But Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po was and did yet much more: the Prajñāpāramitā is a very small part of his immense work as translator. The texts that he transformed from Sanskrit into Tibetan are rather numerous and consider the most

(1) *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, 1.40 et passim.

diverse arguments—although remaining mostly within the limits of mystical works and canonical treatises that the universally accepted tradition attributed to the revelation of the Buddha himself.

Thus it was through the translations that he made or that were made at his request, that a great part of the sacred and exegetic literature reached Tibet, at a moment in which Buddhist doctrine was in great danger, having been struck, in fact, by the persecutions of the apostate king, Glań-dar-ma; it threatened to degenerate by means of Tantric ritual, erroneously taken as an end in itself without that rich foundation that represents its theoretical justification, into pure magic and thus be merged again with the religion of the Bon, who had never considered themselves as conquered, and strong from the momentary advantage, competed fiercely against the new faith for the domination of consciences. And thus it was precisely Rin-chen-bzań-po who predicted and anticipated the numerous bands of the great apostles, whether Tibetan or Indian, that in the 10th and 11th centuries infused new life into the doctrine, which having crossed the barrier of the Himalayas for over two centuries, had not yet been able to organize itself in a systematic manner. Rin-chen-bzań-po and the royal dynasties are to be credited with having made direct and more binding ties with India and with having called to Tibet the most famous masters and doctors of that time. They wanted to learn under their direction the innermost spirit of the sacred texts and to relive in all their profundity the mystical experiences that these texts had revealed by almost literally transplanting the celebrated schools of India in the hermitages of the Himalayas. The enthusiasm of the neophytes moved the masters, and disciples full of zeal and faith descended by the inaccessible paths of the Himalayan range into India, and the Indian doctors climbed under their guidance the same roads and renewed in Buddhism that was by now declining that apostolic activity that it had inspired in its golden age. Atīśa from the monastery of Vikramaśilā brought with him the subtleties of dialectics, the sublime experiences of the mystical ascent, and the daring Tantric practices, which investigated with profound analysis the mysterious forces

of the subconscious and controlled them until they were sublimated in the full light of conciousness, and with his lay disciple, Ḥbrom-ston, founded the sect of the Kadampa, which was four centuries later, to produce the reform of Tsoń-kha-pa. Somanātha from Kashmir introduced the theory of the Kālacakra that transformed astrology and astronomy into thāumaturgic forces and into vehicles of salvation, by assimilating the microcosm to the macrocosm. Marpa, the translator, descended instead into India becoming a disciple to another luminary of Vikramaśilā—Nāropā—and transplanted into Tibet the mysteries of the esoteric Buddhist schools, and through his favoured disciple, Milaraspa, became the inspiror and spiritual father of the Kargyupa that still lives a glorious life today.

§ 2. *The Importance of Rin-chen-bzań-po as lotsāva*

Rin-chen-bzań-po is not connected with any of the many schools that were to multiply on Tibetan soil. One still cannot speak of sects in his time. These were a subsequent development, owing to the appearance of very unique personalities, doctors, mystics or reformers and to the foundation of the great monasteries in which the school begun by them gathered together and perpetuated itself, almost as a repository and symbol of their work. In the period that we are discussing the same schools that existed in India were transferred to Tibetan soil; generally, they were no longer those that they once were, that is, directed as rivals towards very disparate ends with dogmatical and doctrinal peculiarities all their own. Even if one hears mentioned in the commentaries of a Yogācāra or a Mādhyamika view, the late interpretations of these systems in the end almost converge and meet in the same vision. And metaphysics is by now nothing more than the foundation of Tantric practices, for which experience is worth more than theory. Now it is just this type of literature that Rin-chen-bzań-po translated and it is this Tantric doctrine that he followed and spread in a special way. Rather than speaking of sects, we can speak of methods of interpretation of this or that Tantra or of preferences given, in some centres, to one Tantric cycle rather than to another. But following one line of experi-

ences (*sampradāya*) did not prevent one from passing also to others at another time. In a certain sense, Buddhist teaching is altered. It is no longer, predominantly, simple abhidharma, metaphysics, and dialectic, nor is it any longer a fact of intellectual consciousness, but one of experience and ecstasy. One does not teach solely in order to understand a text, but rather to experience and relive a mystical state. Each Tantra describes, explains in symbolic fashion, and aims to reproduce in living particular cycles of truth that correspond, in fact, to a different spiritual level, but among the diverse levels represented by the various cycles, one cannot say that there is a gradation of value: they are contiguous, but necessarily dissimilar, because they are proportionate to the preparation of the neophyte. Each Tantra presupposes, then, an initiation that changes the letter into the spirit and that consecrates in a definite manner the spiritual conquest that the adept has by now reached or acquired.

Thus the task of the lotsava is not just that of a simple translator. There is no doubt that it required an expert's mastery of Sanskrit or of the other languages in which the texts of the Law were written. As it is known, there was no lack of treatises translated from Chinese, from the language of Gilgit (1) (Bru-źa), from Uigur etc., but it was also necessary for the lotsava to create a bit of his own language and style. It was not an easy matter, because a literary experience was still lacking or was just about to be established in Tibet: many and diverse dialects were spoken

(1) Concerning Bru-za (Gilgit) see the monograph of Laufer, *Die Bru-za-Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padma Sambhava*, T'oung Pao, II, IX. The influence of Gilgit on Tibet belongs, without a doubt, to the most ancient period of TibetanBuddhism and this occurred not only with regard to Buddhism, but also with regard to Bon. Since 1881 it has been known from a publication of Chandra Das, "Contributions on Tibet", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1881 : 198 that a priest Bon of Bru-za figures among the first systematizers of the Bon religion, based on information that Chandra inferred from the *Grub-mthaḥ śel-gyi me-loṅ*. The information is confirmed from the same sources of the Bon-po; in fact, three masters of

there. Thus a unified language comprehensible to all the provinces was necessary. He had to continue and in many places revise and correct the work begun by Tibetans and Indians since the time of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can. Nor was it a slight undertaking to reproduce the ideas contained in the Buddhist texts in a manner that could be understood by all: he had to bend the marvelous cons truction of the Sanskrit sentence to a different syntax and find equivalents for those philosophical terms so expressive of the dogmatical or mystical texts that were the magnificent fruit of the incomparable religious and speculative experience of India. The task must have appeared all the more vast and difficult because, in fact, he had to create not only a literature but a new culture, or rather, he had to give to Tibet a culture that it had never possessed before. That could only happen through the introduction of the new religion, that little by little, permeated the consciences, shaped all of life, and having already penetrated for about three centuries, had its glories, its defeats, and its martyrs. The lotsavas, then, were not simply literati; when they descended into India in search of a treatise to translate and make known to their country, they did not content themselves with understanding the literal sense: by means of the book, they searched for the mystical experience it contained, and relived in all its profundity its intimate and esoteric significance, which they possessed no longer as dead letters, but as living and vivifying spirit. Only in this way could they transplant it in Tibet and continue there that uninterrupted chain of masters and disciples, which if broken, a book would remain incomprehensible and inefficacious words, as happened to many texts for which they confess that

the name of Bon are cited as of Bru-za extraction, Bru, in the Bon-po liturgical manual entitled: *Phyag-len ltar gsaṅ-sṅags spyi spuṅs-ḫgro-lugs zin-ris* (corr. *bris*) *kha-bskaṅ* that I propose to publish shortly. On the other hand, the *Deb-ther sṅon-po* (ga 2) informs us that Saṅs-rgyas-ye-śes went to the country of Bru-śa (sic) to study with the great lotsava of Bru-śa Btsan-skyes. The discoveries of manuscripts in Gilgit (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (sic) 1931:863, *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1932:93, 342 and *Journal Asiatique* 1932:13) document in a precise manner the importance that Buddhism must have had at one time in that region.

there is no longer a way to have an initiation, *dbań*, because there are no longer any masters.

§ 3. *Rin-chen-bzań-po as a builder of temples*

But if the importance of Rin-chen-bzań-po is such that the historian of Tibetan Buddhism can no longer ignore his figure, it is certain that he particularly affects Western Tibet, that was his birthplace. Because in Ladakh, in Lahul, in Spiti, in Guge, in Purang, along the valley of the Sutlej there is not a small ancient temple that tradition still does not connect with the great Lotsava. Rightly or wrongly, we do not always know: but one thing is undeniable; that in addition to being a great translator, he was also a great builder of temples and of stupas (mchod-rten), which he disseminated in Western and Indian Tibet. Thus his figure cannot be disassociated from that great building activity that took place around 1000 A.D. in these regions that are perennial centres of Lamaist culture. Let us be quite clear: when one speaks of Lamaism, usually, the immense convents populated with hundreds, at times thousands, of monks that the travelers to Tibet have described, come to mind. That occurred after the foundation of the Yellow Sect and the consolidation of the theocracy. In the beginning the situation was otherwise. The very term monastery, *dgon-pa* (that translates the Sanskrit *āraṇyaka*) given in Tibetan for monastery demonstrates its original character: it is not a place of meeting, *conventus*, but of segregation, *monasterium*, a refuge more or less removed from the inhabited centers, as much as was necessary to live undisturbed in meditation, but not so remote to render difficult those contacts with the inhabited world that even an ascetic needs. Whether chapels or small temples, lha-khań are almost rectangular, of the type of Alchi Tabo and Lha-luń, described by Francke and by Shuttleworth (1).

(1) Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I.
Shuttleworth, *Lha-luń temple, Spyi-ti*, "Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India", 39.

Many of the temples have remained virtually unchanged over the centuries, the end, even today, of the devout pilgrimages of the faithful: that was the fate particularly of those that are found in districts that are inaccessible, sparsely populated or poor, where that prosperity and richness of the country and the people are lacking that favoured the development of the great monasteries. Instead, the dgon-pa erected in proximity to the caravan routes or more densely populated centres experienced greater fortune and expansion, since with the diffusion and the propagation of the monastic orders they became the centres around which great building activity was generated by patrons and donors. And the famous doctors who studied or established themselves in them, almost consecrating them by the saintliness of their persons and drawing around them crowds of proselytes and admirers, contributed not only to spreading the prestige of the monastery, but also to increasing its size. Such was the case, for example, with the monastery at Toling, that arose quickly on the temple founded by Rin-chen-bzań-po, since it was protected by the kings of Guge, or also the monastery of Lamayuru that is built against Seń-ge-sgań another early chapel, certainly, even if it could not be attributed precisely to Rin-chen-bzań-po.

When one remembers that the temples and chapels built by Rin-chen-bzań-po (and that have remained unviolated) are rich in frescoes, stuccos or wooden sculpture and that much of this artistic decoration and furnishings is without a doubt inspired by, or even of actual Indian workmanship, as for example, in the wooden sculpture in the monastery of Alchi or those of Tabo, it becomes evident that a study of the activity of Rin-chen-bzań-po does not pertain solely to the history of Buddhist doctrine, but also to that of Tibetan art. He lived, as we have seen, in a period of great importance for the formation and development of Tibetan culture: it is the period in which Buddhism, declining in India because of the victorious renewal of Brahmanic currents and because of the Islamic incursions that were destroying, little by little, its religious centres and universities, transplanted itself in Tibet and Nepal through the work of an elect host of pandits and mystics, the memory of whom the Tibetan chronicles have preserved for us; it is also, then, that Tibet establishes more in-

tense spiritual bonds with the country of Śākyamuni and sends beyond the barriers of Himalayas, to the Indian plains, its pilgrims and its lotsavas to come back from their pious mission carrying books and new experiences. The pandits and lotsavas were followed by artisans and artists. The renaissance of Buddhism gave a great impulse to Tibetan art. The biography of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po points out to us one of the ways through which that impulse reached the Land of Snows. It was in a special way from Kashmir that Western Tibet imported its artists. It is wrong to believe that Tibetan art developed completely under the influence of Nepalese and through this of Bengali art: a very considerable place is due to Kashmiri artists, and it will be the task of future research to clarify this. The biography of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po — as we will see shortly—openly makes reference to the Kashmiri artists that he employed. The cultural dependence of Western Tibet on Kashmir is, moreover, explicitly confirmed by our sources.

Western Tibet had, thus, a great importance in the Buddhist renewal that took place around the first millenium of our era: Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, the lotsava of Zaṅs-dkar, and the kings of Guge that invited Atiśa are witnesses to it.

§ 4. *The conditions of Buddhism at the time of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po*

The history of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet demonstrates that it diffused under the shelter and protection of the court and especially through the patronage that it received on the part of the princes and the powerful. The persecution against the faith initiated by Glaṅ-dar-ma (in 901) interrupted, and for a short time broke that spiritual continuity that had bound India to the Land of Snows. First of all, they had lost the generous support of the royal house, and by then it had become impossible to maintain in the accustomed splendour the temples already erected on Tibetan soil and to continue in an efficacious manner the work of propaganda that had been initiated; in addition, they attacked the offensive of the sect of Bon-po with manifest violence, since even if they were not as persecuted as the Buddhist sources would want one to believe, they had certainly lost most of the privileges that at one time they had enjoyed uncontested and had to begin again, on their part, the battle to regain terrain and to make full use of unexpected favourable circumstances.

To these external causes that prepared for the monetary eclipse of Buddhism one must add the internal ones. Constrained to hide themselves, persecuted without the possibility of renewing themselves by means of the stimulus of Indian missionaries, the Buddhists degenerated. There was an involuntary return to the primitive beliefs that Buddhism in its early enthusiasm had suppressed, but not completely extinguished; there was also the advantage that the traditional religious experience of the race had over the new forms imported from outside.

In fact, the Buddhism that was imposed on the masses in this first period, was not at all that of the wonderous flowering of its dogma nor of the daring constructions of its metaphysics, but principally that of Tantric liturgy, and not always in its best forms. What I mean to say is that the Tantric rituality that was greatly diffused was certainly not that that accompanied and favoured the great mystic experiences and served to translate the axioms of mystical theory into psychologically relived truth, but above all that (Tantric rituality) whose character was predominantly magical and exorcistic. To the multitudes—this is not the case with the lotsavas and the few doctors who were in a position to understand the significance of even the works of dogma that had already been translated—Buddhism must have appeared as a system of formulas and rites more efficacious for subduing those spirits and multiformed demons that they imagined populated the region, much more so than the magic of Bon-po.

Left alone to themselves without the guidance of the great masters who relived the faith and who gave a clearer and more comprehensive vision of the essence of Buddhism, the Tibetan converts were inevitably drawn back to their original beliefs; or even if they professed themselves to be Buddhists their Buddhism became less and less distinguishable from the practices of Bon.

And this is why the Tibetan historians are perfectly correct when they define the rebirth of Buddhism in the period of our lotsava as a "new penetration" of Buddhism, *phyi dar*, to distinguish it from the first one that began at the time of Sroń-btsan-sgam-po and that is usually known as *sňar dar* "the first propagation of the faith".

§ 5. *The dynasties of Western Tibet as patrons of Buddhism*

But around seventy years after the persecutions of Glań-dar-ma a new impulse was given to Tibetan Buddhism principally through the efforts of the dynasties of Western Tibet, that having profited from the disorder that occurred at the death of the apostate king, had succeeded in forming for themselves autonomous principalities and in founding more or less vast kingdoms that continued their own and not inglorious lives for several centuries. But everything derived from Glań-dar-ma, since it was founded by his grandnephews. The Buddhism that he persecuted, was given new strength by the work of his descendants.

The great importance that the western provinces had for the rebirth of Tibetan Buddhism is widely recognized by historians and by the chronicles, as for example, in the Pad-ma-dkar-po, that dedicates to it a special paragraph of its histories (fol. 107); even the second chapter of the Deb-ther-sňon-po that is dedicated to the second propagation of the faith begins with their work.

Nor are there lacking modern scholars, who for different reasons, however, are concerned with these dynasties. Nor could it be otherwise, because we will see shortly, it was during this period that they were energetically engaged in the activity of translation, whose limits must be precisely established if one wants to determine chronologically the compilation of at least one part of Tibetan collections. And, in fact, it was with this intention that Huth (1) turned his attention for the first time to

(1) Huth, *Nachträgliche Ergebnisse bezügl. der chronologischen Ansetzung der Werke im Tibetischen Tanjur, Abteilung mDo (Sūtra), Band 117-124,*

Rin-chen-bzań-po and his translations, while Francke concerned himself particularly with our dynasty from the historical point of view and as a reference to the ancient genealogies of Ladakh. But some of the sources that I used were not available to my predecessors, nor was it the aim of any of them, as it is mine, to go into details.

Therefore, it would not be inopportune on the basis of the sources now at our disposal and from which I have profitted, to reconstruct the genealogy of these dynasties that encouraged, if they did not directly advise Rin-chen-bzań-po with regard to his activities and that governed in particular that zone called *Mńah-ris bskor gsum* that consists of Mar-yul, Guge, and Pu-rań (Purang) (1).

It is obvious that it is impossible to define precisely the limits of these provinces, since they must have varied from century to century according to historical circumstances, conquests, and treaties. Generally, one can say that Mar-yul corresponds to the westernmost territory, that is to Ladakh. Mar-yul is the most ancient form that one finds in the chronicles, or used by historians, and also in the inscriptions that has been substituted in more recent times by the form that is most common today, Mań-yul. But originally the form Mań-yul referred only to the district between Nepal and Tibet near Skyi-roń or Skyid in whose proximity was the birthplace of Milaraspa (2). Guge is the intermediary province, certainly not as restricted as it would appear from

in *Zeit. der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft* 49 (1985). 279 preceded partially by S. Ch. Das, Contributions on the religion, history, etc. of Tibet, III, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1881: 211-251. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II.

(1) The division of the Tibetan Mńaḥ-ris according to Orazio della Penna is equally tri-partite: Ngari Sankar (zańs-dkar), Ngari Purang, and Ngari Tamo (see "Breve notizia del Regno del Tibet dal (sic) Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi", by M. Klaproth, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, 1835).

(2) See for ex. the colophon to the translation of the Buddhacarita, Mdo ḥgrel, ńe, fol. 119b and further the testimony of Bu-ston Chos-ḥbyuń, trans. by Obermiller, part II, p. 187 "to Kyi-roń in Mań-yul". Mań-yul bordered on the west with Guń-thań that was in Guge.

the Survey map (52 P) that limits it to the group of mountains south of Chumurti. Even today the monastery of Toling (Totling) is considered the centre of Guge; and the first Tibetan province of the high valley of the Sutlej that borders Kunuwar has been generically called Guge. It is not improbable that it also comprised the present-day Spiti.

Pu-raṅ (in ancient spelling Spu-hraṅs, Pu-hraṅs, in the modern Spu-raṅs, Pu-raṅs) comprised the lands to the east of Guge and as far south as lake Manasarovar.

These sources were used in order to reconstruct the genealogy of the dynasties that ruled these provinces: the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-baḥi me-loṅ* or the genealogy of the kings of Tibet, the *Deb-ther sṅon-po* written by Gźon-nu-dpal, the lotsava of Gos, and doubtless one of the most accurate and scrupulous, although apparently schematic, historical works on Tibet that I know, the Chos-ḥbyuṅ of Bu-ston and that of Pad-ma-dkar-po; the chronicles of the kings of Ladakh edited or studied by Schlagintweit, Marx, and Francke. Partial lists are recovered in the Sanskrit-Tibetan formulary discovered at Tun Huang and edited by Hackin (*Formulaire sancrit-tibétain*) and the extracts of Sum-pa mkhan-po.

All these sources present a great uniformity except for details of minor importance that is in a certain sense a guaranty of their general reliability. In this light the text published by Hackin which represents a document chronologically very close to the period that interests us, assumes a singular importance together with those scarce bits of information that can be gleaned here and there from the colophons of contemporary translations collected in the Bstan-ḥgyur. That the sources listed are interrelated or dependent on one another also becomes evident: there is no doubt for example, that the chronicles of Ladakh, apparently a late compilation, reproduce a close version of that of the Rgyal-rabs that is also followed quite closely by Pad-ma-dkar-po. An independent source is represented by the Deb-ther, which Bu-ston follows closely.

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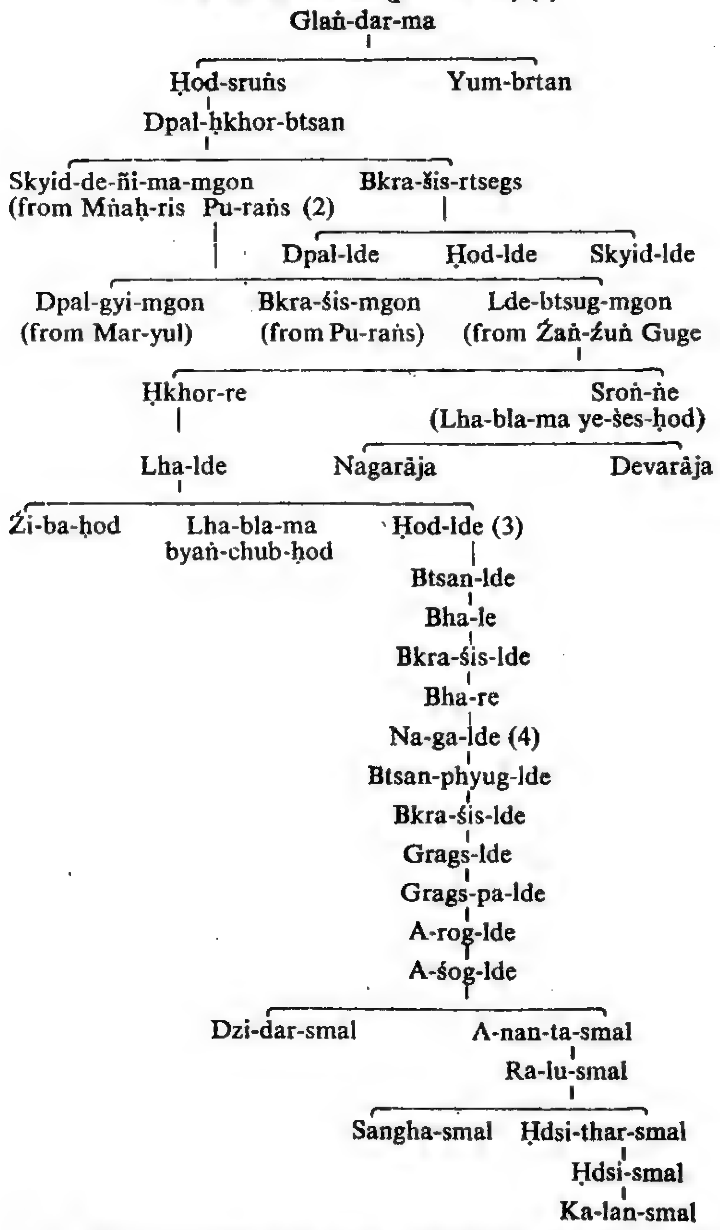
RGYAL-RABS (p. 140-142) (1)



(1) Up to Bkra-śis-mgon the genealogy is reproduced substantially also in the rnam-thar of G.yu-thog Yon-tan-mgon-go.
(2) In the text Mṅaḥ-rigs p. 42; on p. 140 gya-rig.
(3) The same genealogy is followed by Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma.
(4) Up to this king the dynasty governed in addition to Guge also Mar-

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PADMA-DKAR-PO (p. 107)

- Glaṅ-dar-ma
  - Ḥod-sruṅs
    - Dpal-ḥkhor-btsan
      - Skyid-[l]de-ñi-ma-ḥod
        - Bkra-śis-mgon-po
          - Ḥod-rgyal-mtshan
            - Sroṅ-ṅe
            - Kho-re
              - Lha-lde
                - Ḥod-lde
                - Byaṅ-chub-ḥod
                - Ži-ba-ḥod
        - Lde-gtsug-mgon
        - Dpal-gyi-mgon
      - Bkra-śis-rtsegs-dpal
        - Dpal-lde
        - Ḥod-lde
        - Skyid-lde
  - Yum-btsan

DEB-THER (Ka 19) & BU-STON (1)

- Ḥod-sruṅs
  - Dpal-ḥkhor-btsan
    - Khri Bkra-śis-rtsegs-pa-dpal (in Stod)
      - Dpal-lde
      - Ḥod-lde
      - Kyid-lde
    - Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon (in Mṅah-ris)
      - Dpal-gyi-mgon (Mar yul)
      - Bkra-śis-lde-mgon (Spu-hraṅs)
        - Ḥkhor-re
          - Nāgarāja
          - Devarāja
        - Sroṅ-ṅe
          - Lha-lde
            - Ḥod-lde
              - Rtse-lde
                - Ḥbar-lde
                  - Bkra-śis-lde
                    - Bha-lde
                      - Nā-ga-deva
                        - Btsan-phyug-lde
                          - Bkra-śis-lde
                            - Grags-pa-lde
                              - A-so-ga-lde
                                - Ḥji-dar-rmal
                                - Anan-rmal
                                - Reu-rmal
                                - Saṅgha-rmal
                                - Ka-lan-rmal
                                - Par-btab-rmal
            - Byaṅ-chub-ḥod
            - Ži-ba-ḥod
      - Lde-gtsug-mgon Žaṅ-zuṅ (Guge)

(1) Up to Zhi-ba-ḥod the genealogy of Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ agrees with that of the Deb-ther, then from Rtse-lde it follows that of the Rgyalrabs. There is also a complete agreement between the Deb-ther and Bu-ston (trans. Obermiller 2:200,212). There are only differences in spelling to be noted as for example: instead of dPal-gyi-mgon, Bu-ston has Dpal-gyi-lde-rig-pa-mgon; for Ḥkhor-re: Ḥkhor-lde; for Sroṅ-ṅe: Sroṅ-de and for Ḥbar-lde: Dbaṅ-lde. Bkra-śis-lde is the Khri Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug Nam-mkhaḥ-btsan of Bu-ston p. 216. The name Rmal or Smal of the last kings of the list is evidently a dynastic name which corresponds without a doubt to the Sanskrit Malla. As is known, a dynasty of this name also ruled over Nepal. See S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, 2. 212.

DOCUMENT PELLIOT

[dpal ḥkḥor btsan]

- Khris-kyi-liṅ
  - Dpal-byin-mgon
  - Bkra-šis-mgon
    - Acara
    - Khri-lde-mgon
    - Lha-cig cag-še
  - Leg-gtsug-mgon
- Bkra-šis-rtsegs-pa-dpal
  - Dpal-lde
  - Ḥod-lde
  - Khri-lde

LIFE OF ATĪŚA (p. 71)

Dar-ma

- Ḥod-sruṅs
  - Mṅaḥ-bdag Dpal-ḥkhor-btsan
    - Khri Bkra-šis-brtsegs-dpal
    - Khri Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon (Mṅaḥ-ris stod)
      - Bkra-šis-mgon (Pu-raṅs)
        - Mṅaḥ-bdag Kho-re (1) (Lha-bla-ma Ye-šes-ḥod)
          - Devarāja
          - Nāgarāja
        - Sroṅ-ṅe
          - Lha-lde
            - Ḥod-lde
            - Ži-ba-ḥod
            - Lha-btsun Byaṅ-chub-ḥod
      - Dpal-gyi-mgon (Z'aṅ-žuṅ)
      - Lde-gtsug-mgon (Maṅ-yul)
- Yum-brtan

(1) He left the throne to Lha-lde.

BKAḤ-THAṄ (ṅa 69)

Dar-ma

- Ḥod-sruṅs
  - Dpal-ḥkhor-can (king of Sman-luṅ *sic*!)
    - Khri-la-mgon
      - Bkra-šis-mgon
        - Lha bla-ma Ye-šes-ḥod
        - Khri-dpal
          - Btsun-pa Byaṅ-ḥod
- Yum-bstan

The most interesting figures for us in this long list of kings and princes, many of whom are no more and will be no more than just names, are without a doubt Ḥkhor-re, Sroṅ-ṅe (1), Lha-lde, Ḥod-lde, Bla-ma Byaṅ-chub-ḥod, Ži-ba-ḥod, Rtse-lde because they were the true authors of that rebirth of Buddhism that occurred in the 10th and 11th centuries, with whom and under their patronage, Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and the many masters who were brought from India collaborated. Indeed, we will find among the lotsavas of this period one of the princes of the royal family mentioned above.

All the sources, although they differ with regard to the names indicated, are in agreement in affirming that of the two grandsons of Skid-lde ñi-ma-mgon—according to the Rgyal-rabs and followed by Padma-dkar-po and Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma that would mean the sons of Lde-tsugs-mgon and thus the princes of Guge, while the Deb-ther sṅon-po says that they were the sons of Bkra-šis-mgon and thus implicitly kings of Pu-raṅ—one renounced the throne and took vows with his two sons leaving power in the hands of his younger brother. In fact, the Rgyal-rabs, which in

(1) Thus in almost all the sources; but the forms Ḥkhor-lde and Sroṅ-de occur also (in Bu-ston), which form is the most exact can be established only by comparison with contemporary epigraphical information; the frequency of *lde* in these onomastic types should lead one to consider this the original form.

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this case Pad-ma-dkar-po echoes, narrates that the king who became a monk was Sroṅ-ṅe, the father of Nāgarāja and Devarāja, while the Deb-ther followed also by Bu-ston asserts that it was precisely the eldest one, that is Ḥkhor-re, who took vows together with his two sons, leaving the government to the younger brother Sroṅ-ṅe (ka19, ca2).

The question will be resolved definitively either by earlier chronicles that may eventually come to light or by epigraphical data that further exploration of Western Tibet will provide for us. One of these inscriptions, actually, is already, known and was discovered and mentioned by Francke (2) as early as 1914: but, unfortunately, it preserves for us only the name that the prince assumed after having taken the vows and with which he is usually recorded in our sources, I mean, Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod, which in the inscription is preceeded by the royal titles in use for this dynasty, Dpal-lha-btsan-po. But because of the greater antiquity and the general accuracy that distinguish the works of Gźon-nu-dpal and of Bu-ston, I am inclined to consider as more valid the information contained in the Deb-ther sṅon-po than that in the other chronicles and histories which reproduce a single model, that is to say the scheme that inspired the Rgyal-rabs, if not the Rgyal-rabs itself.

At any rate there is reason to consider that the renunciation of the administration of public matters on the part of Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod was not absolute. The title Lha-bla-ma-Sanskrit devaguru, the master of chief of the gods, that he assumed is certainly not an hieratic title.

It is a title that we also usually see adopted by many of his successors; it probably indicated that the prince had taken religious vows and that, in addition to being the head of the state, he was also the religious head (3); in fact we know from Pad-ma-dkar-po that Ye-śes-ḥod invested himself with ecclesias-

(1) Followed by Bodhimör, p. 268; according to Ssanang Ssetsen, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen* it in Ḥkhor-re who takes the vows, p. 53.

(2) *Antiquities* 1.19.

(3) In the Buddhist states the identification of princes with the Bodhisattva is not uncommon. See Coedes, Les inscriptions malaises de Śrīvijaya,

tical rank. But that does not necessarily imply a total renunciation of the governing of the realm. One ought rather to think that he always remained the head of state while leaving the dispatch of current affairs or those of less importance to his delegates. And in fact, the princes that followed in succession until he was taken prisoner, that is Sroṅ-ṅe and Lha-lde are called by Gźon-nu-dpal (ca 2): *rgyal-tshab*, a little that corresponds to the Sanskrit *yuvarāja* and indicates not only the heir to the throne, but the regent and he who as yuvarāja is associated with the government within certain limits. That behind this spontaneous assumption of religious power are also hidden political motives is a matter that we will have more time to consider later.

There is yet another argument that strengthens my conviction. According to the Rgyal-rabs, Ye-śes-ḥod would have been captured by the infidels during the journey to India that he undertook for the purpose of inviting in person the celebrated Indian teachers or according to Pad-ma-dkar-po, while intent on collecting money for this purpose (folio 109).

These historians and biographers do not have the scrupulous accuracy of the ancient chroniclers; they concern themselves little with the truth: their principal aim is certainly not to give an exact view of the past, but principally to construct a work of edification and propaganda. It is not surprising then, that in all the activity of Ye-śes-ḥod they see only an admirable faith and inexhaustible piety. But the author of the Deb-ther-sṅon-po gives us quite another reason for his expedition. He tells us (ca 2) that Ye-śes-ḥod, although having renounced the throne, continued to be the head of the country's armed forces. And since he found himself in conflict with Gar-log (1) he took command of the army, was defeated and taken prisoner. It was dur-

Bulletin de l'Ecole francaise de l'Extrême Orient 30.57, compare *Epigraphia Zeylanica* I. 240; L. de la Vallée Poussin in *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* I.378.

(1) What tribe is being alluded to here we cannot determine with certainty.

ing this imprisonment that the king advised his grandson Byaṅ-chub-ḥod, who had come to the enemy camp in order to free him with a ransom of gold, to use all this wealth to invite to Tibet the most exalted representatives of Indian Buddhist thought. As is known, the advice was taken and brought about the arrival of Atīśa. We do not know if his brother was still living when Ye-śes-ḥod was taken prisoner: one finds no more record of him in the sources. It is certain, however, that he was succeeded immediately or after a short interval by Lha-lde, who appears, in fact, as king in the colophon of the Tibetan translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā (1). He too, however, was not to live for long, because we see him succeeded by his eldest son, Ḥod-lde in whose time Atiśa arrives in Mṅaḥ-ris (Deb-ther, kha 4,6) (2), although the principal part in bringing about this invitation seems to belong to the younger brother Byaṅ-chub-ḥod who had taken the title of his grandfather and had received and executed his order to invite teachers from India.

From the inscription of Tabo published by Francke (3), it would seem that even Ḥod-lde did not remain long on the throne, because he is succeeded by Byaṅ-chub-ḥod who renovated the temple of Tabo that had been constructed 46 years earlier by Lha-yi-bu Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ, or what seems to me still more probable, that when Ye-śes-ḥod died the highest spiritual authority passed into the hands of the grandson Byaṅ-chub-ḥod, beside whom the regents or rgyal-tshabs always remained, invested with political powers. This Devaputra Bodhisattva is certainly not the Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ of dubious authenticity that the chronicles of Ladakh record as one of the first kings of the

(1) He ordered its revision-making for which, as we will see, Subhāṣita came from India. In the colophon he is called dbaṅ-phyug-dam-poḥi Mṅaḥ-bdag hod-kyi Dpal Lha-btsan-po bkra-śis Lha-lde-btsan.

(2) However, elsewhere (ca 4) when speaking of the arrival of Atīśa, the king is indicated with the title: lha bla-ma; thus also in the Pad-ma-dkar-po: lha-btsun (ca 3 a) = deva-bhadanta, epithets attributed equally to Byaṅ-chub-ḥod.

(3) *Antiquities* I.41.

country—as Francke proposed—but seems rather to be the honorific title given *post mortem* to Ye-śes-ḥod by his descendants.

This is all that we can reconstruct of the lives of the princes of Mṅaḥ-ris, who were contemporaries of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po.

It is possible to specify the chronological limits within which they ought to be arranged? The only dates that we have at our disposal are those regarding Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and Atīśa. From these we know that Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po was born in the earth-horse year (Deb-ther, kha 3), that is 958 A.D. (and not 956 as Francke proposed) (1) that is 329 years after the birth of Sroṅ-btsan that happened precisely in 629 A.D. (2) and that Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po took his vows at thirteen and immediately afterwards was sent to India at the order of Ye-śes-ḥod, that he met Atīśa in 1042 when he was 85, and that he died at 98 in the wood goat year, that is 1055. Concerning Atīśa, from the almost unanimous consensus of the sources, we know that he left India in the metal-dragon year, that is 1040, and that in the metal-snake year, 1041, he was in Nepal and that in the water-horse year, that is in 1042 he arrived in Mṅaḥ-ris (3) when Ḥod-lde was king (Deb-ther, kha 4b). To these dates ought to be added that of 1076 when, as we will see, Rtse-lde held a Buddhist council at Toling. All these dates give us rather secure points of reference for the history of Western Tibet and it is on the basis of these that it will be necessary to correct many of those already proposed.

§ 6. *The schools assembled around Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po*

Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po with his long life and the magnificent work that he carried out seems almost to sum up and symbolize in himself the Buddhist ardour of these kings. But at the wish of his

(1) The preface to Shuttleworth, *Lha Luṅ Temple*.

(2) See Bell, Ch. *The Religion of Tibet*, p. 202. The date contained in Ssanang Ssetsen, p. 53, that is *Schlm-Drachen-Jahr* (932 or 992) is to be considered incorrect.

(3) The date 1048 in Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibetain*, 74, is incorrect. Some chroniclers have Atīśa arrive in the year 1026, as it is recorded in the history of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa by Bsod-nams-grags-pa.

princes was assembled around him a numerous group not only of his disciples, but also of Indian masters that his generous patrons had called in order to assist him in his work and to assure that Buddhism had a long and secure success. Thus it was that at the court of the kings of Guge and of Puraṅ that an actual school was formed to which are owed the hundreds of translations that figure today in the collections of the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and the Bstan-ḥgyur; a school which must be credited with having introduced for the first time in Tibet special lines of exegesis that can be precisely qualified as western currents or those from Stod or Kashmiri, that is, from the region of India from which they were introduced into Guge, and that comprise not only canonical texts, but in particular many Tantras and their interpretations, Vinaya or monastic rules and treatises of logic. According to the tradition preserved by our biography and confirmed by the Deb-ther the number of pandits that gathered at the court of Mṅaḥ-ris would have been 75, and this number can probably be considered exact if one includes not only the masters but also the disciples that accompanied them on their trans-Himalayan travels and if one considers that it does not refer to a particular moment, but embraces a long period of time.

Thus the collaborators of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po can be divided into two categories: his immediate masters (or teachers) in India who initiated him in the diverse Buddhist disciplines and experiences and those who, through royal invitation, transplanted themselves in the Tibetan hermitages or in one of the many temples that the lotsâva constructed, or rather had persuaded the munificent kings to construct.

Setting aside for the moment a study of the details of the life and biography of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, it would not be inopportune to reconstruct his activity as a translator and apostle of Buddism. That could be done by trying to trace his Indian masters and collaborators and his Tibetan disciples and by listing the versions of his works that have been attributed to him in the Tibetan collections.

The investigation, as Huth already perceived, will not be without profit, because, however indirect the route, it will be able to shed new light on the schools and Buddhist centres that were flourishing towards the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries in India.

Secondly, not only would we have an exact idea of the royal purport of this school of Mṅaḥ-ris and its importance in the penetration of Buddhism in Tibet, but by singling out the works that were translated in this region, we will contribute to the history of the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and the Bstan-ḥgyur that is yet to be undertaken.

It will be opportune to begin by summing up the historical sources available to me today that speak of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and his activity as lotsâva, subject to finding confirmation of how much concerning them is related in the indices of the Tibetan collections.

§ 7. *The sources concerning Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and their historic value*

It would certainly be very useful to know the documents from which our informants drew their information; but unfortunately, the Tibetan bibliographical material at our disposal is still too scarce and fragmentary to be able to undertake with some profit an investigation of the sources of the biographies and the historians that we consulted. It is necessary, however, to note that the fundamental elements can always be drawn from the archives of the monastery of Toling that, as all convents, must necessarily preserve its own records, very often enumerated in the schematic form of a dry chronicle in the dkar-chag that, whether in published or in manuscript form, are not lacking in any monastery of some renown. On the other hand, Gźon-nu-dpal cites the source from which he gathered information concerning our lotsâva, and that is the rnam-thar of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po written by Jñāna of Khri-thaṅ. If this Jñāna is the same Jñāna of Skyi-nor cited among the four most famous disciples of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po in chapter ja, p. 2 of the Deb-ther itself, the information contained in this work, already in itself very accurate, would acquire a much greater value in as much as it ought to be attributed to an immediate pupil of the lotsâva.

It is also not to be excluded that the biographer used the same source because as much as he is more diffuse than Gźon-nu-dpal,

there is however, considerable agreement between the two works. But it is evident that the author of the Rnam-thar, who, as we will see, was from Guge, must have drawn extensively from the popular traditions, which even today, in all of Western Tibet celebrate the lotsāva and his great work.

8. *Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and his school according to the Deb-ther*

The Deb-ther-sṅon-po (kha fol. 3 b) contains several references to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po that can be summarized thus: "the lotsāva Rinchen-bzaṅ-po was born in the earth-horse year that is 329 years after the birth of Sroṅ-btsan; at the age of 13 he was ordained as a monk by the learned Ye-śes-bzaṅ-po. So one reads in the life written by Jñāna of Khri-thaṅ. Thus the year of his ordination would correspond to the seventieth year after the persecutions of Glaṅ-dar-ma (that occurred in the iron-bird year 901) (1) and thus the rebirth of the Law took place first in Mṅaḥ-ris (Western Tibet) and in the provinces of Dbus or Gtsaṅ (Central Tibet). When he met Atīśa who had come to Tibet he was 85 years old. While still a youth he went to Kashmir and perfected himself in many systems of mysticism (mantra, sṅags) and in logic: as a result he became very wise and he decided to translate many treatises of mysticism and many sūtras, composing also ample explanations of the prajñāpāramitā and of two types of Tantra (2) and he also taught many parts of the mystical ritual and the disciplinary rules.

The diffusion of mystical teachings into Tibet and the greater penetration of doctrine in this second period in comparison with the first is all to be credited to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po. He visited seventy-five pandits and so heard from them many parts of the supreme

(1) I do not know how Francke arrived at the date 814 A.D., "Notes on Khotan and Ladakh", *Indian Antiquary* 59, 41, while on p. 68 he places the conquest of Western Tibet by Skid (Skyid)-lde-ñi-ma-mgoṅ around 930.

(2) That is, according to the distinction in use in Tibet of *pha* and *ma father* tantra and *mother* tantra. The first are those joined to the *upāya* or the means of realization constituted by *karuṇā* or compassion; the second are those that refer to *prajñā* or mystical knowledge.

Law. The king, great Lama Lha-lde-btsan honoured him as "supremely venerable" and as "Vajrācārya" and made a present to him of property in Źer in Spu-hraṅs. He also founded temples such as the temple of Khva-tse and the temples of Roṅ. He had many disciples, whether they were learned men or ascetics as Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan of Gur-śiṅ or pre-eminent translators. He entered nirvāṇa at 98 years of age in the wood-goat year in that of Viṅ-gir in Khva-tse."

Then it adds (kha 4) that Ye-śes-ḥod had the pandit Dharmapāla come from eastern India, from whom are derived three commentators of the Vinaya, that is Sādhupāla, Guṇapāla, and Prajñāpāla, usually known as "the three Pāla": the school that stemmed from them was called the school of the monastic rules of Stod; Subhutiśrīśānti who translated the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, his large commentary (ḥgrel-chen), and the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (Mṅon-par-rtogs-paḥi-rgyan) with his commentary.

The disciples of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, on the other hand, continued the work of the master in three branches: sūtra, prajñāpāramitā and mantra; of all of them, the lotsāva of Rma, Dge-ba-blo-gros, deserves to be singled out. He translated the Pramāṇavārttika (Tshad-ma-rnam-ḥgrel), the commentary to this work written by the same author, that is by Dharmakīrti (Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti), the commentary of Lha-dbaṅ-blo (Devendrabuddhi) and the commentary (ṭīkā) of Śākyabuddhi (Śākya-blo).

This was the first time that works of logic reached Tibet; and it was precisely from the western provinces that had initiated the translations of them; they were introduced slowly, and at a later time also introduced into the districts of Dbus and Gtsaṅ, that is the central provinces. It is customary, however, to call this period, the period of ancient logic (1) to distinguish it from the new system of study that was inaugurated later by Blo-ldan-śes-rab.

(1) It is probably the system of logic that gave its name to one of the three schools of dialectic founded at the monastery of Sera: Mṅaḥ-ris grva-tshaṅ, see Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic* 1.57 n. 9.

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Concerning this lotsāva, called also the Lotsāva of Rṅog, we know that he was sent to Kashmir by Rtse-lde in order to study logic in the school of Parahitabhadra and Bhavyarāja and that he specialized in the mystical system of Maitreya with the guidance of Sajjana, Amaragomin, etc. Although it is known that he was not a native of Western Tibet, it is obvious, however, from the account of Bu-ston, that the king of Guge was his patron. While many translations were thus being completed, they proceeded quickly to correct those that already existed, but that were demonstrably inadequate or rather defective: and this occurred particularly when Ḥod-lde invited Atīśa. His son, Rtse-lde, in the year me-pho-ḥbrug/fire-dragon 1076, held a council (1) at which all of the greatest masters of Dbus, Gtsaṅ and Khams participated, each of whom explained the discipline of which he was a specialist. It was also the time when the lotsāva of Zaṅs-dkar (Ḥphags-pa-śes-rab) corrected the Pramāṇavarttikālaṅkāra, Tshad-ma-rgyan, whose translation had been begun by Blo-ldan-śes-rab together with Bhavyarāja (2).

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(1) That a gathering of masters/ston-pa took place under this king is recorded in the colophon to the translation of the Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra that he commissioned, see Mdo ḥgrel vol the (Cordier 2.442).

(2) Notice of this council/chos-ḥkhor is found also in the biography of the Lotsāva of Rva, who is also recorded in the Deb-ther-sṅon-po as being among those who attended. But judging from what the rnam-thar says of this lama, famous for his impulsiveness and fierce temper, he departed from the council following an argument with the lotsāva of Zaṅs-dkar. Among the other delegates recorded in the biography of the Translator of Rva are (fol. 91) the lotsāva of Rṅog Blo-ldan-śes-rab, the lotsāva of Gñan Dar-ma-grags, Kha-po-che of Btsan, Khyuṅ-po-chos-brtson (in Bu-ston, p. 215 Khvaṅ-po), Dad-pa-śes-rab of Mar-thuṅ, Byaṅ-chub-śes-rab of Maṅ-hor (in Z'aṅ-z'uṅ or Guge according to the colophon to the Mdo ḥgrel ne, Cordier 3.443). Dvags-po-dbaṅ-rgyal (the first five of whom are also mentioned in the Deb-ther-sṅon-po). The same biography mentions that this council is contemporary with the translation of the Pramāṇālaṅkāra made by the lotsāva of Zaṅs-dkar.

In no other region was so great a service rendered to religion—so concludes Gźon-nu-dpal—as that by the kings of Mṅaḥ-ris.

In another chapter of the same work (ja 1ff.) in which the Tantric schools are classified and their diffusion in Tibet studied, establishing those missing links that connected the mystical currents of Tibet with those of India. The same author demonstrates that many Tantric cycles were introduced for the first time into the Land of Snow through the initiative of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po who, as was said above, was not only a translator of the texts, but the master who transplanted into Tibet the mystical knowledge learnt from the Indian gurus, by granting an initiation into it to a series of disciples or by communicating its secrets to a not indifferent band of lotsāvas and learned men, who, in every part of Tibet, cooperated in the recent rebirth of Buddhism whose past fortune was restored by the protection of the kings of Guge. According to the Deb-ther, then, the lotsāva, by means of his three trips to Kashmir (1), and with the aid of the masters invited to Tibet, introduced the system of interpretation of the yoga-tantra. In particular, the De-ñid bsdus-paḥi-rgyud, that is the Tattvasaṅgraha with the commentary of Ānandagarbha, the commentary to the Dpal-mchog, that is to the Paramâditantra written by the same Ānandagarbha, the rituality connected with the Tantric cycle of Rdo-rje-ḥbyuṅ that is the Vajrodayatantra, the system of interpretation Sgyu-ḥphrul-ḥdra or Māyājālatantra according to the commentary of Ānandagarbha and the commentary of Sarvarahasyatantra composed by Śāntipā.

Pupils gathered around the lotsāva from every part of Tibet, not only from Mṅaḥ-ris, but also from Dbus and Gtsaṅ, eloquent testimony of the importance of the flourishing Buddhist centre in Guge: among them Gźon-nu-dpal records the lesser lotsāva Legs-paḥi-śes-rab; Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan of Gur-śiṅ in Maṅ-naṅ: Gźon-nu-śes-rab of Gra and Jñāna of Skyi-nor who

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(1) Only here is mentioned the three Indian journeys of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po. Even the biography speaks only of two.

were considered by Rin-chen-bzań-po as his favorite disciples. Four others were pupils of both the greater and the lesser lotsāva: An-ston Grags-rin of Spu-hrańs, Rgya-ye-tshul, Dge-śes of Guń, Dkon-mchog-brtsegs of Mar-yul. In addition Rgyan-pa Chos-blos of Rgyań-ro Speu-dmar in Myań-stod has his origin in the school of Rin-chen-bzań-po, having learned from Rin-chen-bzań-po the mystical system of the Vajrodaya as it had been transmitted to Rin-chen-bzań-po by Śraddhākaravarman and the Kośalālaṅkāra that is the great commentary to the Tattvasaṅgraha and the system of Guhyasamāja according to Prajñāpāda (Ye-śes-źabs) while be studied works on ritual with the great ascetic Dol-po; however, he ought to be considered particularly as the disciple of the lesser lotsāva.

Another disciple of the greater lotsāva was Sum-ston Ye-ḥbar of Śańs who for seven years studied with him the above listed Tantric systems, although he continued his studies principally with the lesser lotsāva, whose school Lce-źar of Myań-stod also joined after he also, however, had first met Rin-chen-bzań-po. He dedicated himself especially to the Yogatantra and the Paramāditantra. The same thing happened to many others, who while having met Rin-chen-bzań-po, in the end became disciples of Legs-paḥi-śes-rab, perhaps because of the already advanced age of Rin-chen-bzań-po; among these are recorded: Gźon-nu-rgya-mtsho; Brag-steńs-pa of Las-stod; "the master of Dmar", Chos-kyi-rgyal-mthsan of Kul-ḥchiń-ru; Kle-ston of Ldog: the Nepalese (Bal) Śākya-rdo-rje, Ldog-goń-kha-pa, Ge-ser of Rńog and Srid-ye-gźon of Śańs. The latter was not in time to meet Rin-chen-bzań-po, but the first did not fail to study with the lesser lotsāva, and then under the guidance of prince Źi-ba-ḥod, who was also called "the translator", he began to translate various works into Tibetan. From this school was also to come one of the greatest ascetics and lotsāvas of Western Tibet, that is to say, the lotsāva of Zańs-dkar Ḥphags-pa-śes-rab who was later in time than Rin-chen-bzań-po, but who studied with the lesser lotsāva and with

his co-disciple An-ston Grags-rin whose name we have mentioned above (1).

§ 9. *Rin-chen-bzań-po and his school according to Pad-ma-dkar-po*

The information contained in the Chos-ḥbyuń of Pad-ma-dkar-po is less schematic than that contained in the Deb-ther-sńon-po; but the greater wealth of details is not always a benefit to its exactitude. Much of the information that the author gives us concerning the motives that prompted the king of Guge to send Rin-chen-bzań-po to India and concerning the list of masters that he advised him to invite to Tibet rather than transmitting a tradition accurately, has instead the appearance of a knowledgeable reconstruction by Pad-ma-dkar-po intended to place Rin-chen-bzań-po within the contemporary Buddhist movement in India, and thus to associate the greater part of his work with Indian doctrinal exegesis. It is probable that Rin-chen-bzań-po met many of

(1) It will not be inappropriate in this volume dedicated to western Tibet to summarize the information that the Deb-ther has preserved for us concerning this lotsāva of Zańs-dkar (in the rnam-thar of the Lotsāva of Rva p.91 Zańs-mkhar, an obviously corrupt form). With his masters he studied not only the Tattvasaṅgraha and the Paramāditantra, but also the Caryātantra; then having invited the Pandit Gz'on-nu-bum-pa and having gone to Central Tibet, he translated the Rtse-mo; that is the Vajraśikharatantra (Beck, p.91) based on the preceeding translation executed by Pandit Karmavajra and Gz'on-nu-tshul-khrims of Zańs-dkar and a Sanskrit manuscript brought by Gz'on-nu-bum-pa.

Thus having become famous on account of his great knowledge of doctrine, he gathered about him various pupils desirous of learning the same tantric cycle: among them ought to be mentioned Mar-pa Rńor-yas of Smon-gro, Rgva-ston of Khams, Yam-śuń Klu-chuń. Then, having gone to Lhasa with the Indian pandit, he took as a disciple Ńyi-ma-śes-rab of Gñal who was initiated by them in the very same Vajraśikhara. This disciple was his companion on a pilgrimage to Nepal after which he returned to Mńaḥ-ris and then he settled in Kashmir.

Then he set about composing a commentary (ṭīkā) to the same Vajraśikharatantra. Of his pupils four merit special mention: Ńyi-ma- śes-rab of Gñal; Mar-pa Rńor-yas; Tshul-ḥbar, the master of Gñan;, Seń-ge-rgyal-mtshan.

the masters recorded here and that he initiated them in various Tantric systems which the Tibetan author (polygraph) mentions, but we ought to look for confirmation of this in the Bstan-ḥgyur and the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, and in the colophons of the works that he translated.

According to Pad-ma-dkar-po, then, the king Sroṅ-ṅe, who had constructed the monastery of Toling and who subsequently took religious vows assuming the name Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod in order to even more effectively propagate the faith in his region, chose 21 youths from the best families of the state (1) whom he divided into three groups according to their intelligence in such a way that the second and third group would depend on the preceding one; and having brought them from their families, he consigned to them a large amount of gold with the stipulation that they invite to Tibet the most eminent and famous masters that were in India at that time. According to the king those masters would have been Rin-chen-rdo-rje, that is Ratnavajra of Kashmir, Dharmapāla of eastern India, Karuṇāpaṇḍita, called also Nor-bu-gliṅ-pa "the one from Ratnadvīpa" in Western India, and finally Prajñāvalī. The youths that he sent to India were supposed to study Tantric literature in particular, and the king indicated the texts that he wished to have explained to them, because, as is well known, a Tantric manual is almost incomprehensible unless one learns the mystical significance of its formulas from the living voice of an initiated master. Such texts would principally have been: the Guhyasamāja according to its two fundamental interpretations (2), the Tattvasaṅgraha according to the commentary of Kun-dgaḥ-sñiṅ-po, that is of Ānandagarbha. It is necessary to note immediately that this particular Tattvasaṅgraha is by no means the anonymous treatise of dogma by Śāntirakṣita with a commentary of Kamalaśīla, but a Tantric text that is said by some schools to go back to the Buddha himself, and to judge from some of the preserved fragments (3), it is actually written at least partially, in a rather archaic style that resembles that of the Prajñāpāramitā.

(1) So also Ssanang-Ssetsen, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen*, p. 53.

(2) That is that of Buddhajñāna and Nāgajñāna, and Nāgārjuna.

(3) For example in Jñānasiddhi, *Two Vajrayāna Works*, edited by B. Bhattacharya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. XLIV.

Consequently, they were also to study the Las-kyi sgrib-pa rgyun-grod-kyi rgyud, that is the Karmāvaraṇapraśrabdhitantra, with the commentary of ācārya Vasanta (Dpyid) according to the school of Nor-bu-gliṅ-pa and Dharmapāla and then the meditations on the 340 divinities of the maṇḍala for which Ācārya Rgyal-baḥi-lha or Jinadeva had made a commentary, afterwards the Guhyasamāja both according to the commentary of Buddhajñāna and that of Nāgārjuna, then, with Ratnavajra, the commentaries to the Kālacakra and the four Tantras of Vajrāsana. Afterwards, he advised them to go to Vikramaśīlā, where there was a great assembly of masters and learned men, each of whom was a unique repository of Buddhist knowledge. Having mentioned the renunciation of the throne on the part of Sroṅ-ṅe, Pad-ma-dkar-po records the sad fate that awaited these 21 that he had sent, all of them very young since the king had chosen none older than twenty and none younger than ten. Nineteen of them died in Kashmir and only Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and the lesser lotsāva Legs-paḥi-śes-rab were fortunate to return home after long years of residence in India.

Regarding the Indian experiences of the lotsāva, Pad-ma-dkar-po tells us that in Kashmir he learned from Ratnavajra the system of the Yogatantra together with the mysticalr itual that was connected with it; afterwards, when he met Nāropā, he had him explain the Guhyasamāja acc. to the two customary interpretations. Not being able to meet either Prajñāvalī, who had died in the meantime, or Dharmapāla, he became the disciple of Nor-bu-gliṅ-pa who interpreted for him the Durgatipariśodhanatantra and the upāyatantras, the Tantras connected with Akṣobhya (Mi-ḥkhrugs-paḥi-rgyud). In Vikramaśīlā he met Dīpaṅkarabhadra, Mi-thub-zla-ba and Rgyal-baḥi-ḥbyuṅ-gnas (Jinākara), from whom he learned mantras and logic; therefore, having had the uncertainties that still remained from his stay with the Kashmiri Ratnavajra explained and resolved, he returned to Tibet, at the age of 33. At 49 he took his vows with the pandit Candraprabha, Bhi-na-se (?) and Kamalarakṣita. Subsequently, in Tibet he had

the opportunity to meet Śraddhākaravarman who had been invited there by Nor-bu-gliṅ-pa and had him explain the system of Vajrodaya (Rdo-rje-ḥbyuṅ), and the exegesis of Ye-śes-źabs (Prajñāpāda) and correct the translations of the two lotsavas of Ka and Cog (1). Finally, he succeeded in meeting Dharmapāla who had come to Tibet, and from him learnt the mystical system that was in use in eastern India.

Even the biography that we will discuss shortly has left us a record of the masters in whose schools he studied: but the names are often so altered that it is difficult to recognize them.

Among his principal disciples Pad-ma-dkar-po mentions Legs-paḥi-śes-rab, Gźon-nu-śes-rab, Ye-śes-dbaṅ-phyug of Skyi-nor and Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan of Gur-śiṅ. As his guru or master in the broadest sense of the word the biography records now Da-ka-ra-bar-ma (21), now Sra-ta-ra-barma (22), now Tratakara (25, 28), now Tra-ta-kar-bar-ma (26). Despite these deformations it is not difficult to recognize among such names that of the pandit Śraddhākaravarman, of whom Pad-ma-dkar-po has spoken.

In Kashmir, according always to the same biography, he would have also met with the most celebrated of the Kashmiri sages or ascetics, I mean with Nāropā, who, as I indicated above, was the spiritual father of Marpa, and then together with his guru Tilopa, the patriarch of the school of Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa. With Nāropā he would have learnt in particular the texts connected with the mystical rite of mahāmudrā. In India he studied with many masters, among which the biography cites Ḥdzin-mi-tra, Pa-na-gñan-na, Śi-len-dra-bho-dhi: the first name is obviously a corruption of Dzi-na-mi-tra, that is Jinamitra; the third is Śilendrabodhi, a famous translator of the time of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, that the author of the biography transfers, as a serious anachronism, to the time of the kings of Guge.

(1) That is the two translations of the time of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan: Dpal-brtsegs of Ska and Kluḥi-rgyal-mtshan of Cog-ro.

§ 10. *Religious exchange between Tibet and India*

According to a three-fold tradition, this is the total vision of the relations that the kings of Guge established with the Indian masters and of the work of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, his disciples and collaborators that developed under their patronage, the court of Mṅaḥ-ris is to be credited, then, with having initiated a new period in the history of Tibetan Buddhism and having breathed new life into it, having contributed to a more perfect understanding of the complex and difficult theories and experiences of Buddhist dogma and mysticism, and having thus, preserved the best part of Buddhist thought, which otherwise, the Brahmanic rebirth would perhaps have deprived us for ever.

This was then, an exceptionally glorious period for the western provinces of Tibet. Perhaps no one today in crossing the arid and impervious ravines or the desolate plains of Spiti or Guge could imagine in the few and scattered temples or in those hermitages secluded in rocky solitude that such fervid life was concentrated and that a task so momentous for Tibetan culture was accomplished. This was a wonderful period in which Buddhist masters did not disdain to help their Tibetan brothers, who full of faith and mystical ardour descended their steep mountains and did not hesitate in confronting dangers and discomforts of the Himalayan passes, submitted with resignation to the hardships that a stay in the hot and humid Indian plains induced; messengers and apostles of religion and civilization who renewed with equal daring the example of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. Of this multitude of translators only names remain. Nevertheless, the transfusion of Indian Buddhism and with it of Indian civilization into the Land of Snow and the civilizing of Tibet that derived from it owes to the efforts and the tenacity of these missionaries. Most of the time they do not leave for posterity traces of themselves, yet they accomplished a wonderful task that even today arouses our deep-felt admiration and makes us consider the unheard of sacrifices, renunciations, and victims that it necessarily cost.

It is not necessary, however, to believe that all the Indian masters that we find at the court of the kings of Western Tibet at this time were actually summoned by them. The Muslim invasion had already begun to undermine the fortune of Indian Buddhism. From Turkestan and from Gilgit (Bru-źa), through which the Islamic storm had already raged, the Buddhist masters could have descended very easily into Western Tibet via the caravan routes that today connect Ladakh with Central Asia. But the greatest contingent of immigrants must have come, without a doubt, from Kashmir, not only for its geographical proximity and its commercial exchanges, that then, as today, existed between the two regions, but also because in this period Kashmir had to endure the harsh misrule of a series of tyrants whom Kalhaṇa condemned to the execration of their descendants. The great number of Kashmiris in these years seems to be confirmed by a tradition, alive also today in Ladakh, that tells how the kings of Tibet were constrained, considering the scarce resources of their country to limit permission of residence in their country to these immigrants to no more than three years.

On the other hand, Kashmir at that time was one of the places where Buddhism prospered even more, if no longer as the state religion, certainly, as the home of the greatest doctors and exegetes of that time.

Nāropā, who became the teacher of Marpa and will be recognized as the most celebrated guru of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa sect that is also very diffused today in Tibet, together with Ākarasiddhi (Pad-ma-dkar-po, 85), and Jñānaśrīmitra, pupil of Nāropā (ibid. p. 83, 106) were Kashmiri. Some of the greatest interpreters of the system of the Kālacakra, that also was destined to have an extraordinary fortune and diffusion, were Kashmiri, as for example Somanātha. And even at the time of Kṣemendra, Buddhism was to have in Kashmir many proselytes if the great poet did not disdain to have a hand in that ponderous collection that is entitled, Avadānakalpalatā, without doubt among one of the most beautiful and rich works owed to his inexhaustible genius.

(1) Francke, Notes on Khotan and Ladakh, *Ind. Ant.* 49 (1930). 42.

And the derivation of the Buddhism of Western Tibet from that of Kashmir remains documented, at least partially, by the fact that the Tantric systems together with their exegesis that were introduced by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po were designated in Tibet with the name, Kashmiri system, according to the unanimous consensus of our sources.

§ 11. *The collaborators of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and their translations*

According to the literary documents available today, we can reconstruct this list of masters, collaborators, or disciples of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po:

Deb-ther	*Padma-dkar-po*	*Biography*
Dharmapāla	Id.	
Guṇapāla		
Sādhupāla		
Prajñāpāla		
Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan (disciple)		
Dge-ba-blo-gros.		Id. (disciple)
Legs-paḥi-śes-rab	Ratnavajra	
Gźon-nu-śes-rab	(Karuṇāpaṇḍita)	
Jñāna.	Candraprabha	
An-ston Grags-rin	Bhinase (?)	
Rgya Ye-tshul	Kamalarakṣita	
Dge-śes	Śraddhākara	
Dkon-mchog-brtsegs	Legs-paḥi-śes-rab	
Chos-blos	Ye-śes-dbaṅ-phyug	
Sum-ston Ye-ḥbar	Gźon-nu-śes-rab	
Dīpaṅkara	Id.	Id.
		[Jinamitra (1)
		Śīlendrabodhi (1)]
		Padmākaravarman
		Rin-chen-gźon-nu
		Byaṅ-chub-śes-rab.

(1) For the obvious error, that I mentioned above.

Consulting the indices of the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and the Bstan-ḥgyur, we will find confirmation of all that our sources have indicated. Indeed, since many of the translations contained in these collections were done in collaboration, we will be able to establish contemporaneity and thus determine, at least approximately, the dates of some of the principal translators and masters who contributed to the success of the penetration of Buddhism into Tibet.

We will begin by giving an index of the works translated by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, dividing them into three groups: I) sūtras and tantras of the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur; II) commentaries to the sūtras: III) commentaries to the tantras.

I

In the Bkah-ḥgyur

1. Laghusaṁvaratantra (Otani p. 7, Beck p. 75, who does not mention the name of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po).
2. Abhidhānottaratantra; Dipaṅkaraśrījñāna and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 8, Beck p. 75).
3. Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittarahasyaguhyasamāja (Ot. p. 23, Beck p. 85); Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po.
4. Māyājālamahātantrarāja; Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 33, Beck p. 89).
5. Śrīcandraguhyatilakamahātantrarāja; Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 35, Beck p. 91).
6. Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha; Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 36).
7. Sarvarahasyatantrarāja; Padmākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 36, Beck p. 91).
8. Śrīparamādimahāyānakalparāja; Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 41, Beck p. 92).
9. Āryavajrapāṇinilāmbaradharaṇīlokavijaya; Dipaṅkara and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 51, Beck p. 96).
10. Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā; Subhāṣita and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, then revised on a new ms. by Dipaṅkara and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 215, Beck p. 8).

11. Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra; Kamalagupta and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 292, Beck p. 33).
12. Nairātmyaparipṛcchā; Kamalagupta and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 321, Beck p. 42).
13. Ghaṇṭīsutra; Dharmaśrībhadra, Tshul-khrims-yon-tan and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 374, Beck p. 61).
14. Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra; as above (Ot. p. 375, Beck p. 62).
15. Sumāgadhāvadāna; as above (Ot. p. 392, Beck p. 68).
16. Candraprabhāvadāna; Dharmaśrībhadra, Śes-rab-legs-pa, and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Ot. p. 393, Beck p. 69).
17. Śrīsenāvadāna; as above (Ot. 393, Beck p. 69).

II

Commentries to the sūtras (mdo ḥgrel)

1. Translation and revision of Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka of Haribhadra together with Subhāṣita and then with Dīpaṅkara (Cordier 2.277).
2. Translation together with Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna of the Durbodhāloka comm. of Abhisamayālaṅkāra (Cordier 2.278).
3. Translation together with Śraddhākaravarman of the Prajñāpāramitānavaślokapiṇḍārtha (Cordier 2.287).
4. Translation with Kamalagupta of the ṭikā to the same work (Cordier 2.287).
5. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of the Hastabalaprakaraṇa (Cordier 2.296).
6. Revision of the translation of the Bodhicaryāvatāra together with Dharmaśrībhadra and Śā-kya-blo-gros (Cordier 2.306).
7. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Saṁvṛttibodhicittabhāvanopadeśavarṇasaṅgraha (Cordier 2.317, 349).
8. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Paramārthabodhicittabhāvanākramavarṇasaṅgraha (Cordier 2.317, 344).
9. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Pāramitāyānabhāvanākramopadeśa (Cordier 2.319 K. 354).

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10. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of the Dhyānasaddharmavyavasthāna (Cordier 2.320).
11. Translation with the same of the commentary of the same work (Cordier 2.320).
12. Translation with Prajñākaravarman of Bodhisattvacaryāsaṅgrahapradīparatnamālā (Cordier 2.324).
13. Translation with Kamalagupta of the Vimalapraśnottararatnamālā (Cordier 2.344).
14. Translation with Gaṅgādhara of the Saptaguṇaparivarṇanākathā (Cordier 2.346).
15. Translation with the same person of the Saṁbhāraparikathā (Cordier 2.346, 424).
16. Translation with Buddhabhadra of Caturviparyāyaparihārakathā (Cordier 2.347, 424).
17. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Pañcavidhakāmaguṇopalambhanirdeśa (Cordier 2.350).
18. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Dhyānasaddharmavyavasthāna (Cordier 2.352).
19. Translation with the same person of Yogāvatāra (Cordier 2.354).
20. Translation with Janārdana of Yogāvatāropadeśa (Cordier 2.355).
21. Translation with Kamalagupta of Saptaguṇavarṇanākathā (Cordier 2.356).
22. Translation with Atiśa of the Triśaraṇagamanasaptati (Cordier 2.360).
23. Translation with Janārdana of Yogāvatāropadeśa (Cordier 2.390).
24. Translation with the same person of the Prātimokṣabhāṣyasampramuṣitasmaraṇamātralekha (Cordier 2.403).
25 Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna (Cordier 2.416).
26. Translation with Gaṅgādhara of Saptaguṇaparivarṇanākathā (Cordier 2.423).
27. Translation with Atiśa of Supathadeśanāparikathā (Cordier 2.426).

28. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Dṛṣṭāntamālya (Cordier 2.432).
29. Translation with Janārdana of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṁhitā (Cordier 2.470).
30. Translation with the same person of the comm. of the same work Padārthacandrikā (Cordier 2.471).
31. Translation with the same person of Dhūpayogaratnamālā (Cordier 2.475) and of Aṣṭapadikṛtadhūpayoga (Cordier 2.475).
32. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra and Buddhaśrīśānti of Śālihotrīyāśvāyurvedasaṁhitā (Cordier 2.501).

III

Commentaries to the tantras (rgyud ḥgrel)

1. Translation with Janārdana of Viśeṣastavaṭīkā (Cordier 1.3).
2. Translation with the same person of Devātiśayastotraṭīkā (Cordier 1.4).
3. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Kāyatrayastotravivaraṇa (Cordier 1.5).
4. Translation with Padmākaravarman of the 13th chapter of the Varṇanārhavarṇane Bhagavato Buddhasya stotre aśakyastava (Cordier 1.7).
5. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Ekottarikāstotra (Cordier 1.8).
6. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Sugatapañcatriṁśatstotra (Cordier 1.8).
7. Translation with Buddhākaravarman of Deśanāstava (Cordier 1.11).
8. Translation of Buddhābhiṣeka-nāma-stotra (Cordier 1.11).
9. Translation with Śraddhākara of Pañcatathāgatastava (Cordier 1.12).
10. Translation with the same person of Saptatathāgatastotra (Cordier 1.121).

11. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Śūramanojñā with comm. to Śrīcakrasaṁvara (Cordier 1.28).
12. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Śrībhagavadabhisamaya (Cordier 1.33).
13. Translation with Buddhaśrīśānti of Bhagavacchrīcakrasaṁvaramaṇḍalavidhi (Cordier 1.37).
14. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of the work of the same title (Cordier 1.37).
15. Translation with the same of Herukasādhana (Cordier 1.43).
16. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Herukaviśuddhi (Cordier 1.44).
17. Translation with Atiśa of Śricakrasaṁvarasādhana (Cordier 1.45).
18. Translation with Atiśa of Bhagavadabhisamaya (Cordier 1.46).
19. Translation with the same of Cakrasaṁvaravistaraprabandha (Cordier 1.53).
20. Translation with Atiśa of Vajrayoginīstotra (Cordier 1.64).
21. Translation with Kamalagupta of the Catuḥpīṭhayogasādhantantrasādhanopāyikā (Cordier 1.99).
22. Translation with the same of Tattvopadeśa (Cordier 1.103).
23. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantrapañjikā (Cordier 1.108).
24. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman and Dharmaśrībhadra of Sarvabuddhasamāyoga (Cordier 1.109).
25. Translation with Atiśa of Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa (Cordier 1.126).
26. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Pradipoddyotana (comm. on Guhyasamāja) (Cordier 1.131).
27. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Ṣaḍaṅgayogaṭīkā (Cordier 1.132).
28. Translation with the same of Vajrajāpaṭīkā (Cordier 1.132).

29. Translation with the same of Jñānavajrasamuccayatantrodbhavasaptālaṅkāravimocana (Cordier 1.132).
30. Translation with the same of Piṇḍīkṛtasādhana (Cordier 1.134).
31. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Sūtramelāpaka (comm. on Guhyasamāja) (Cordier 1.135).
32. Translation with Subhāṣita of Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi (Cordier 1.135).
33. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman and Kamalagupta of Pañcakrama (Cordier 1.136).
34. Translation with the same of Svādhiṣṭhānakramaprabheda (Cordier 1.136).
35. Translation with the same of Abhisambodhikramopadeśa (Cordier 1.136).
36. Translation with the same of Amṛtakuṇḍalīsādhana (Cordier 1.138).
37. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Mahāvajradharapathakramopadeśa-amṛtaguhya (Cordier 1.140).
38. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman and Dharmaśrībhadra of Homavidhi (Cordier 1.140).
39. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Guhyasamājamaṇḍaladevakāyastotra (Cordier 1.141).
40. Translation with Prajñaśrīgupta of Śraddhāpralāpastava (Cordier 1.141).
41. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Guhyasamājavivaraṇa (Cordier 1.143).
42. Translation of Mukhāgama (Cordier 1.147).
43. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Samantabhadrasādhana (Cordier 1.147).
44. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi (Cordier 1.148).
45. Translation with Vīryabhadra of Samantabhadravṛtti (Cordier 1.149).
46. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Samantabhadrasādhanavṛtti (Cordier 1.149).

47. Translation with Kamalaguhya of Muktitilakavyākhyāna (Cordier 1.150).
48. Translation with Vīryabhadra of Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiṭīkā (Cordier 1.150).
49. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Guhyasamājābhisamayasādhana and maṇḍalavidhi (Cordier 1.152).
50. Translation of Priyasādhana (Cordier 1.152).
51. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Akṣobhyavajrasādhana (Cordier 1.153).
52. Translation with Vīryabhadra of Suviśiṣṭasādhanopāyikā (Cordier 1.154).
53. Translation with Atīśa of Guhyasamājalokeśvarasādhana (Cordier 1.154).
54. Translation with Tathāgatarakṣita of Abhiṣekaprakaraṇa (Cordier 1.155).
55. Translation with Vijayaśrīdhara and Śraddhākaravarman of Guhyasamājapañjikā (Cordier 1.159).
56. Translation with Atīśa of Yamārisādhana (Cordier 1.167).
57. Translation with Tathāgatarakṣita of Vajrabhairavatantrapañjikā (Cordier 1.169).
58. Translation with Devākara of Devīprabhādharādhiṣṭhāna (Cordier 1.181).
59. Translation of Jñānasiddhisādhanopāyikā (Cordier 1.211).
60. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Vajrayānasthūlāpatti (Cordier 1.254).
61. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Kośalālaṅkāra (Cordier 1.259).
62. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Vajradhātumaṇḍalasarvadevavyavasthāna (Cordier 1.259).
63. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Saṅkṣiptamaṇḍalasūtravṛtti (Cordier 1.259).
64. Partial translation of the commentary to Tattvasaṅgraha (Cordier 1.260).

65. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Paramādivṛtti (Cordier 1.259).
66. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Paramādiṭīkā (Cordier 1.261).
67. Translation of the comm. to Māyājāla (Cordier 1.261).
68. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Pañjikā to Māyājāla (Cordier 1.262).
69. Translation with Buddhaśrīśānti of Sarvavajrodaya (Cordier 1.262).
70. Translation of Trailokyavijayamaṇḍalopāyikā (Cordier 1.263).
71. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Pratiṣṭhāvidhi and Karuṇodaya (Cordier 1.263).
72. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadra of Pratiṣṭhāvidhi (Cordier 1.263).
73. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Homavidhi (Cordier 1.264).
74. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti (Cordier 1.265).
75. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgītiṭīkā (Cordier 1.266).
76. Translation with Subhūtiśrībhadra of Sarvadurgatipariśodhanamaṇḍalasādhanopāyikā (Cordier 1.284).
77. Translation with Kanakavarman of Sarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi (Cordier 1.285).
78. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Sarvaśuddhisaṁskārasūtrapiṇḍitavidhi (Cordier 1.285).
79. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisambaddhatantrapūjāvidhi (Cordier 1.291).
80. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Vajravidāraṇīdhāraṇīṭīkā (Cordier 1.295).
81. Translation with the same of Vajravidāraṇīdhāraṇīvyākhyānabṛhaṭṭīkā (Cordier 1.295).
82. Translation with the same and revision of Vṛttipradīpa (Cordier 1.296).

83. Translation with the same of Āryamañjughoṣastotra (Cordier 1.301).
84. Translation with Atīśa of Sahasrabhujāvalokiteśvarasādhana (Cordier 1.305).
85. Translation with Vīryabhadra of Sthiracakrabhāvanā (3.3).
86. Translation with Kamalagupta of Arpacanasādhana (2.4).
87. Translation with Atīśa of Nāgeśvararājasādhana (2.66).
88. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Nayatrayapradīpa (81).
89. Translation with Atīśa of Tattvasiddhiprakaraṇa (81).
90. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Tattvāvatāra (81).
91. Translation with the same of Mantranayāloka (81).
92. Translation with Janārdana of Tattvasārasaṅgraha (82).
93. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṅgraha (82).
94. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Guhyapañcaśikha (84).
95. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Madhyamabhāgatrayavidhi (95).
96. Translation of Jalabalividhi (96).
97. Translation of Mahāmudrāyogāvatārapiṇḍārtha (97).
98. Translation with Atīśa of Nāgabalividhi (97).
99. Translation with the same of Balipūjāvidhi (107).
100. Translation with Vīryabhadra of Daṇḍakabhagavaccakrasaṁvarastotra (114).
101. Translation with Atīśa of Vajrayoginīsādhana (118).
102. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Piṇḍīkramasādhana (162).
103. Translation with Atīśa of Nīlambaravajrapāṇisādhana (181).

104. Translation with Atīśa of Vajradharavajrapāṇikarmasādhana (181).
105. Translation of Vajravidāraṇīmaṇḍalavidhi (182).
106. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Karmakarastotra (200).
107. Translation with Atīsa of Yamārisādhana (260).
108. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Bhūmisūtra (Mdo-maṅ Lalou, Cat. n. 112).

§ 12. *Synchronisms between translations and translators*

It follows from this list that we can assign to a precise period the translations bearing the names of Śraddhākaravarman, Padmākaravarman, Subhāṣita, Kamalagupta (or Kamalarakṣita or Kamalaguhya), Dharmaśrībhadra, Subhūtiśrībhadra, Śākya-blo-gros (Śākyamati), Gaṅgādhara, Buddhabhadra, Vijayaśrīdhara, Tathāgatarakṣita, who participated greatly in the final version of the Avadānakalpalatā (1), Devākara, Kanakavarman, Atīśa, Tshul-khrims-yon-tan. All these pandits and lotsāvas, then, are contemporaries of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and their activity should therefore be confined within a very precise time limit: the second half of the 10th century and up until about the third quarter of the 11th century.

This contemporaneity provides us with other synchronisms. In fact, we know, for example, that the Rin-chen-rdo-rje (Ratnavajra) mentioned by Pad-ma-dkar-po was the disciple of Gaṅgādhara (Cordier 2.377), who was himself a frequent collaborator of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, that Kamalagupta collaborated with Bsod-nams-rgyal-ba (Cordier 2.85) and that some works were translated by Śraddhākaravarman with the lotsāva Yon-tan-śī-la (Guṇaśīla, Cordier 2.198,199). On the other hand, Subhūtiśrīśānti and Śākyamati collaborated with the great Nepalese pandit, Śāntibhadra, with whom they had translated works together with Tshul-

(1) Cordier 2.420.

khrims-rgyal-ba, better known under the name of Nag-tsho, one of the most celebrated disciples of Atīśa (see for example Cordier 2.276). Śāntibhadra translated at least three works at the request of Lha-btsun Byaṅ-chub-ḥod (the grandson of Ye-śes-ḥod) and these are, as deduced from their colophons: Yogacaryābhūmau bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā, the ṭīkā of the Samādhirāja (Mdo-ḥgrel, ñi and ri, Cordier 2.369 and 382) and the commentary to the Abhisamayālaṅkāra of Bhadanta Vimuktisena in which collaborated Śāntibhadra Śākya-ḥod (Śākyaprabha); whereas the very brother of Byaṅ-chub-ḥod, that is to say, Źi-ba-ḥod in the colophon to the translation of the kārikā of Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntirakṣita that he translated into Tibetan together with Guṇākaraśrībhadra, was also called a great lotsāva.

Byaṅ-chub-ḥod himself commissioned from Subhūtiśrī (Śānti) a translation of the Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti of Devendrabuddhi (Cordier 2.440, Mdo-ḥgrel che) and of the Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa of Candrakīrti (Cordier 2.304) that was made by Dīpaṅkara, if it is true that the Dpal-lha-bstun-pa bodhi-rāja that this last mentioned one (Dīpaṅkara) wishes to be identified, as it almost certainly appears to be, with our Byaṅ-chub-ḥod.

From the time of Lha-lde we have the Abhisamayālaṅkārālokā of Haribhadra, in the colophon of which, in the edition of Snar-thaṅ one reads clearly Khri bkra-śis Lha-lde-tsan, from which one cannot agree with the identification of this king with his successor Ḥod-lde as Cordier 2.277 has proposed. Moreover, Subhāṣita already figures expressly as a translator, at the wish of the same monarch, of the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā of which the āloka is the commentary. It is due to the decree of the same monarch that one owes the translation of the Śālihotrāśvāyurvedasaṁhitā (2.500) (1).

Concerning his successor Ḥod-lde, during whose reign Atīśa arrived in Tibet, we know that he had Subhūtiśānti, Śākya-blo-gros (Śākyamati) and Dge-baḥi-blo-gros translate the Śuddhimatī

(1) Cordier in *Bulletin École Française d' Extrême Orient* 3.620.

(Cordier 2.281), that was then revised and corrected by Śāntibhadra, who we will see work for his (Ḥod-lde's) successor, Rtse-lde, together with the lotsāva Lha-btsas whose many translations are incorporated in the Tibetan collections.

The works that Rtse-lde, the successor of Ḥod-lde, had translated furnish us with another series of synchronisms: he reigned after the death of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, that is approximately sometime after 1055. He is usually designated with all his titles, Dpal-lha-btsan-po, Khri bkra-śis-mṅaḥ-bdag Rtse-lde-btsan, and we know concerning him that he ordered the translation of the Vinayasaṅgraha that was made by Jñānaśrībhadra, a pandita who was a native of Groṅ-khyer-dpe-med, Anupamapura in Kashmir, together with the lotsāva Rgyal-ba-śes-rab and Śākya-bśes-gñen. And at the wish of the same prince and of Dpal-lha-bstun Źi-ba-ḥod, Jñānaśrībhadra, collaborating with the disciple of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, Dge-baḥi-blo-gros, translated the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti. It was the same king together with Źi-ba-ḥod who ordered that the great Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā of Śākyabuddhi and Prajñākaragupta (Mdo-ḥgrel, je, ñe, te, the, Cordier 2.440ff.) be translated, obeying the will of Khu and Dpon, of the uncle and the nephew, that is of Ye-śes-ḥod and Byaṅ-chub-ḥod (and not Źi-ba-ḥod as Cordier proposes); and entrusting the translation to Sunayanaśrīmitra of Vikramaśīlā and to Kumāraśrī from among the many other masters brought together for this purpose, during a meeting held at his very request at Toling. Always obeying the will of Ye-śes-ḥod and Byaṅ-chub-ḥod, this same prince together with Źi-ba-ḥod had the Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā translated into Tibetan by Dīpaṅkararakṣita and Byaṅ-chub-śes-rab of Maṅ-ḥor in Źaṅ-Źuṅ, that is Guge (2.443).

As a result of this comparative examination we find that the information deduced from our sources is completely confirmed in the indices of the Tibetan collections. Certain information from the biography naturally takes exception, such as the great

anachronism, for example, of mentioning among the masters of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, Jinamitra and Śīlendrabodhi, who, as is well known, belong to the first period of Tibetan translations, since both lived at the time of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, collaborating together with Kluḥi-rgyal-mtshan, Dānaśīla, etc.

Moreover, any connection between Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and Nāropā, that Pad-ma-dkar-po mentioned, is missing; no work of the great siddha is among those translated in Guge, nor does it appear that in that region at that time that anyone knew the Kālacakratantra of which Nāropā was one of the first interpreters. The credit for having introduced the system of Nāropā and his teachings into Tibet is due principally to Marpa, the lotsāva of Lho-brag (not of Zaṅs-dkar as Francke would have it) (1).

With regard to what I have said above, it seems, thus, completely confirmed that the period to which Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po belonged can be considered as among the most fruitful and important ones for the history of Lamaism and for the elaboration of Indian doctrines after their introduction into the Land of Snow. In the future it will be advantageous to draw attention to the cultural movement that took place in Western Tibet and that shows itself to be more noteworthy than has been recognized so far. Not even Francke, who, apart from some of the defects of his works, has the indisputable merit of having illuminated in a very large series of works the history and culture of Indian Tibet, has collected precise information on our period. And although he was the first to mention the great figure of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, especially as an apostle of Lamaism in Mar-yul and as a singular constructor of temples, the dates that he has provided, on different occasions, are faulty and certainly inadequate to permit us to understand completely the full worth of the work carried out by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and its significance. It is that we lack the sources or, at least they are not yet available.

(1) *Indian Antiquary* 59 (1930). 69.

§ 13. *The rnam-thar of Rin-chen-bzan-po*

I knew that a biography (rnam-thar) of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po existed, but no matter how many attempts I made to find it during my trips in 1928 and 1930 I was not able to locate it. And, even Francke could only use a modest biography that came into the possession of Gergan in Leh in 1926. What that was I cannot say; but Gergan, who, when I met him again in 1931 and asked him about it, confirmed that his book consisted of only a few pages. That led me to suppose that it might be an abbreviated version of the other that in September 1932 reached me from Poo and that consisted of 58 folios with four lines per folio. Also the different spellings of the proper names that cannot be considered as a casual deformation due to ignorant scribes, since the same forms usually recur constantly in the text, lead me to believe that my version is different from that of Gergan.

That there is in fact more than one version of the biography is demonstrated from the colophon of the one that has come into my possession: *Gu-geḥi khyi daṅ-pa Dpal-ye-śes-kyis Tho-liṅ-du bris-paḥi rnam-thar ḥbriṅ-po rdzogs-so* "here ends the median biography written in Tho-liṅ by Dpal-ye-śes of Kyi-daṅ in Guge":

This makes one suppose that in addition to the present biography there are two others: one more vast, the other more concise. The case is not new in Tibetan literature, and it repeats itself for example, in the biographies of Atīśa. The rnam-thar that has now come into my possession is a manuscript, and to judge from its state of preservation, is reasonably ancient; it shows in the writing a great uncertainty of forms that denotes that the amanuensis ignored the rules of spelling. Very often he is influenced by the pronunciation of the words and shows a great uncertainty with regard to prefixed letters. It is certainly not my intention here to give a complete translation of the text. If we were to put our mind to translating completely all the Tibetan rnam-thars, not only would we take on a very arduous task indeed, but very often the result would not compensate for our effort.

A TAN KAPUJA BUDDHISTA FŐISKOLA KÖNYVTÁR

These rnam-thar ought to be used with much caution. Generally, in fact, they cannot be considered as works of absolute historic value; no more than can the lives of the saints of our medieval period, they are a branch of religious and edifying literature. The great personalities, whose glories and memorable deeds they narrate are not save for very rare exceptions, heroes or warriors, or political men, but only monks and ascetics: they speak of spiritual conquests, they describe visions, they reveal mystical exaltations. In an atmosphere so saturated with magic and with such intense faith as Tibet has always been, it is evident that the miraculous, the legendary, and the supernatural superimpose themselves on the historical base and take the upper hand. In short, the Tibetans are interested in another reality, that even though it does not belong to history, is for that no less real or vital than this one is for us, from which is increased the psychological interest of this literature that paints with full efficacy the atmosphere of the fantastic in which even today devout Tibet lives and moves.

That does not take away, however, from the fact that even the historian can find in these biographies precious elements for which it would be in vain to search elsewhere. And it is on these now that we will especially insist, seeking to complete the information that we were able to recover in the sources used above. The biography of Rin-chen-bzań-po is not in fact, to be considered as one of the most representative from the artistic point of view, nor could it certainly give a completely perfect and satisfying idea of this biographical literature that also has magnificent examples, such as the life of Milaraspa or that of Marpa.

The author of the biography has organized the subjects that he will treat in eleven fundamental headings, and they are:.

1) The prophecies concerning his birth, since the appearance of every great person is, according to a common Buddhist conception, anticipated by the prophecies of the Buddha or of the saints long before their birth.
2) To what lineage he belonged.
3) Where he was born.
4) When and where he took his vows.

5) Where he acquired the qualities of lotsāva, etc.
6) With which masters and sages he learnt the Law.
7) How he translated the Law.
8) How he constructed the four residences and the temples.
9) How he constructed the twentyone lesser places.
10) Where he performed extraordinary asceticism.
11) From what place he entered nirvāṇa, disappearing into the air.

Setting aside the prophecies, let us consider the birth: instead of speaking to us immediately of the courtly town in which Rin-chen-bzań-po was born, the text prefaces the exposition of his genealogy by a designation, that has all the appearance of a gloss or later insertion, of the place where especially resided (fol.4): *bla-ma dam-pa deḥi z'ugs-yul rtsa-ba ni Gu-ge Kha-tsiḥi Lha-luṅs yin* that is: "the principal place of residence of the exalted master was Lha-luṅs, in that of Kha-tse of Guge. Although Lha-luṅs is a rather common place-name in Tibet, it is probable that this Lha-luṅs is to be identified with Lha-luṅ in Spiti, along the valley of the Lingti that appears on the Survey map (52L) under the form of Lilung; here one finds famous small temple (or shrine) illustrated by Shuttleworth and attributed precisely to Rin-chen-bzań-po. But, at that time, Kha-tse which is recorded also in the Deb-ther ought to be identified with Spiti. In favour of this hypothesis one could cite the fact that even today the name of Kha-tse seems to exist in that of the village of Kaze (or Kaja on the Survey map) which, from the ruins that remain seems to have been at one time more important than it is today.

The fact that the whole region is indicated by the generic name of Guge does not constitute an objection to this identification, because, as we have seen, our sources divide all the territory of Western Tibet into three large areas: Maryul, Guge, and Puraṅ which must have been subdivided into many other provinces with different names probably from those that are in use today. That Kha-tse was the name of a province is demonstrated by the fact

that in it was not only Lha-luṅ, but also Go-khar (fol. 33,34) where, owing to regal munificence, Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po erected a temple that must be the same one recorded by the Deb-ther-sṅon-po (kha 3b), and Veṅ-gir, as the locality where the lotsāva, according to our biography and the Deb-ther entered nirvāṇa.

His place of birth was Skyu-vaṅ or Kyu-vaṅ, according to different spellings, as we learn from folio 8, where the prodigy that announces his conception is narrated, from folio 30 where it is indicated as the residence of his mother, and from folio 35 where it is expressly stated that he is a native of the place. The name is evidently corrupt, but its exact form is preserved for us in the index of the Bstan-ḥgyur. In fact, in the colophon of the Muktāgama (Cordier 1.147) translated by our lotsāva together with Śraddhākaravarman one finds that the birthplace of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po is specified as Khyuṅ-veṅ. The first name is too common in the toponomy of Guge for one to attempt a secure identification (Gyuṅ-vo is east of Toling; Kyun-lung is near the hot springs on the Toling-Manasarovar road, etc.), but it is not, however, impossible to arrive at an approximation. In fact, to judge from what we read on folio 35: *khruṅs-yul yin-pas Skyu-veṅ Rad-nis-su* Rad-nis, where Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po founded a temple, is found in the territory of Khyuṅ-veṅ. One can now stabilize where this temple of Radnis arose: it is found in a gorge northeast of Shipki, not very far from this village and even today it is an object of pilgrimage. I heard of it for the first time from some lamas who were my informants in the monastery of Kanam, who when I asked them wrote the name, however, with another spelling: Rva-nid. They told me that ancient frescoes are still visible there. It is thus a place that will be necessary to visit on a subsequent expedition.

Concerning his genealogical origins is tells us that he belonged to the G.yu-sgra clan whose origin was in Kha-che. Kha-che signifies "Kashmir" and even—in recent times—"Muslim", but it is

often used in a very broad sense to indicate the non-Tibetan population at the western confines of Tibet. This tradition with regard to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po could have a double significance: that is to say, whether it is a simple fiction to connect the family of the great lotsāva to Kashmir, where he was to descend when still a youth to master the Sanskrit language and thus attribute to him an Indian origin, or whether to preserve memory of that heterogeneity of ethnic elements that we see coexist and overlap in Western Tibet and that even if Tibetan with regard to language, belong anthropologically to different races.

Apart from all the evidently legendary details that the biography piously gathers and hands down, we note (fol.5) that from his paternal grandfather G.yu-sgra-stoṅ-śan (or bśan, p.6a) the family divided into two branches, one called G.yu-sgra-śan-pa (1) the other younger one called G.yu-sgra-chuṅ, which seems to have established itself a little further east; in fact, it is designated by the localities in which it resided Zar-źaṅ-pa, Śon-ḥkhar-pa, Ma-yaṅ-pa, Tsha-raṅ-pa. Man-yaṅ is certainly the Miang of the old Survey maps (now Ma-dzong), on the Hindustan-Tibet trade route to the east of Tiak. Tsha-raṅ is rather than Tsa-pa-raṅ (Rtsa-ba-raṅ), Charang near Tangi pass between Guge and Bashahr or Sarang near the monastery of Chu-su. Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po was born into the principal branch of the family. His father was called Ban-chen-po Gźon-nu-dbaṅ-phyug and his mother, Kun-bzaṅ-śes-rab-bstan-ma of Cog-ro. He was born in the last month of summer in the year of the horse, a date that we must fill out according to that indicated to us from the Deb-ther-sṅon-po. To his father's brother will be born his companion and disciple Legs-paḥi-śes-rab, distinguished by the title the lesser lotsāva, whose

(1) This form is rather strange: *śan* or *bźan* means: butcher. If there was not the alternation with *bźan* on folio 6 I would consider it as a correction of *chen* as opposed to *chuṅ*. An opposition that is maintained in the names of the two personages that came from the twofold lineage and are thus called, respectively, the greater lotsāva (*chen*) and the lesser lotsāva (*chuṅ*).

translations also remain in the Tibetan collections. Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po had two brothers and a sister (6 b); the elder brother was called Śes-rab-dbaṅ-phyug, the younger one, Yon-tan (1)-dbaṅ-phyug; he was the middle son and received the name of Rin-chen-dbaṅ-phyug; his sister was Kun-sriṅ-śes-mtsho. According to a custom that still continues in Tibetan society, the task of providing for the well being and continuity of the family is left to the eldest son. The younger brother and sister also took monastic vows; indeed, regarding the sister, it also gives her religious name, Rnal-ḥbyor-ma Chos-kyi-sgron-ma, and it seems that she achieved great fame for her saintliness.

Thus, the information that the biography contains concerning the family of the great translator is so spare and unembellished that there is no reason not to accept it as substantially correct and it agrees with the inscription at Alchi that mentions briefly the life of the lotsâva (2). Concerning his entry into the monastic order, the biography agrees with the Deb-ther-sṅon-po, asserting that it happened when the lotsâva was still an adolescent; in fact he would have taken his vows at the age of thirteen, assuming the name Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, and his spiritual master and guide would have been the pandit Legs-pa-bzaṅ-po (folio 9). There is, as can be seen, a disparity between the author of our biography and that of the Deb-ther-sṅon-po; the difference can be explained quite well, however, as due to an error in transcription, since the cursive form of *ye-śes* can be easily confused with *legs*; or the amanuensis was lead astray by the name of the lesser lotsâva and his cousin, that is Legs-paḥi-śes-rab.

§ 14. *Travel to India and the itinerary that he followed*

The biography does not mention the decree that Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po may have received from the king of Guge to go to India together with other youths chosen by the king. Thus we do not know what were the motives that impelled the young Tibetan to aban-

(1) Mss. *stan.*
(2) And it is visibly based on the Deb-ther-sṅon-po.

don his country and descend into the great Buddhist centres in order to rebuild a culture all his own and obtain the sacred doctrines from the original sources. Whether or not there was a royal decree, little by little, as his studies progressed, he must have realized the insufficiency of the existing translations then in Tibet and to have yet a greater awareness of the enormous quantity of doctrinal and exegetic texts that still remained to be translated. It was not only the curiosity of the new, but the necessity to see more deeply into that literature that had entered Tibet through many ways and in different epochs. There were too many references in that literature to books of which the Tibetan lamas perhaps knew nothing but the title, while, on the other hand, as it usually happens with almost all Indian religious and philosophical literature, one text clarifies another, such that ignorance of one precludes the correct comprehension of another. It was necessary to descend into the Indian monasteries, where one found the large libraries and greatest repositories of the doctrine and the mystical experiences of Buddhism, in order to get an idea of the vast material lying there that was still ignored by Tibetan masters, and then, after having understood and translated it, to bring it back to the Country of Snows.

And so Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, a youth of seventeen, left his father and mother and undertook the journey that was neither short nor easy in the direction of Kashmir accompanied by an upâsaka or lay disciple named Bkra-śis-rtse-mo, and a Mon-pa (1) that is a native of Ṅyuṅ-ti who knew the road well. Ṅyuṅ-ti is the designation that is still current today for Kulu, and the inhabitants of Kulu together with those of Bashahr today still engage in an active commerce of transporting small goods during the summer months, from all of India to all the inhabited centres of Spiti, Guge, Rudok, Ladakh bringing back salt, borax, and wool. It does not seem that the centuries have profoundly changed the living conditions in these regions.

(1) For the meaning of Mon that is "non-Tibetan" see Dainelli, *I Tipi Umani, Spedizione italiana De Filippi*, p. 135 ff.

What was the itinerary that Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po followed to go to Kashmir? It is most likely that he did not take the road that would be most easy today, that is to say, he must not have descended to Jalandhara and then climbed to Kashmir via the pass of Banihal or Kohāla. The fact that having arrived at Kulu, his companion was afraid of the great snow-covered mountain that still had to be crossed suggests that he followed the direct route through the Himalayan range. He could have reached Kulu via Spiti; in this case he had to follow the valley of the Chandra river, that then was certainly open to traffic since the glacier Shigu precipitated in the last century, had not completely obstructed it with immense and deformed boulders that rolled down in the catastrophe and he could have reached from Losar at the extreme end of Spiti to the confluence of the Chandra and the Bhāga, in four to five days. Since this was the shortest route at that time, I do not think that he could have taken the road commonly used today through Bārālācha, given the impracticality of the other (today). If he then descended by the Sutlej he must have inevitably reached the valley of the Chandra-Bhāga whether he passed through the pass of Rohtang, or whether, having arrived at Kulu, he took a left and crossed the range that separates Kulu from Chambā. Once he arrived at the valley of the river, the way progressed through Kilar Ārthal Piyas Kishtwār. After a month and three days he would have arrived, according to our sources, at the city of Ke-ri-ka and two days later, at a large bridge called Ma-hā-gsaṅ-ḥgal: the location of these sites is rather dubious. But if the itinerary indicated by me is correct, it is probable that the city of Ke-ri-ka is to be identified with Kilar on the Chandra-Bhāga in Chambā and the bridge is the one on the very same Chandra-Bhāga that one crosses at Ārthal (Atholi) since the road on the right bank of the river passes there to the left bank. This identification would correspond with what is said subsequently (16 b) that is, that for three days Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and his companion remained without food having found themselves in wooded terrain; it is about a four-day march between Ārthal and Kishtwār, and while there are abundant

forests, provisions are completely lacking (1).

We know nothing of the cities in which he stayed during his residence in Kashmir, because the two names found in the text: Ka-la-cag-ti (fol. 20) and Tamalapanti, where he met Śraddhākaravarman (2) (3,21) do not suggest to me any Kashmiri center with an equivalent phonetic type. Probably we are faced with an ancient deformation of the original Sanskrit word, made worse, as always happens with foreign names, through the manuscript tradition.

The stay of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po outside his own country ought to be divided, it seems, into two periods: the first, for the duration of seven years was spent in Kashmir, evidently with the purpose of learning not only the spoken language, but more importantly Sanskrit and then to acquire the acquaintances that would be necessary to undertake the vast program of translation that he had prescribed. The second stay he spent in eastern India, probably at Vikramaśīlā, with the intent to find and copy other texts of the Law and to hear from living masters an immediate explanation. The third period is represented by another stay in Kashmir, perhaps to put in order the large amount of material collected and to finish some of the translations undertaken with his first masters.

The first period of residence in Kashmir probably lasted seven years, the second and third together ten years, that is Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po would have been absent from his country for a total period of 17 years.

When he returned to Khyuṅ-ven he did not have the joy of a festive meeting of both his parents. His father died during his absence, perhaps, by then desparing that India would not return his son to him. Then we see him set to work intensely: in fact he began revising the still existing traditions and translating the new texts, assisted by 75 other pandits that Lha-lde-btsan had called.

(1) For this itinerary see the schematic, but precise information in K. Mason, *Routes in the Western Himalaya*. Dehra Dun, 1922, Route 54.

(2) In the text: *da-ka-ra-var-ma*.

§ 15. *Construction of the three principal temples*

But, as we noted above, the work of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po is not exhausted simply in that of a translator or revisor of the translations of others. His pilgrimages in Kashmir and India, even though inspired by motives of study and apostolic ardour, still show him to be a restless spirit, vivacious and desirous of travel, one of those men who know how to adapt themselves to a purely contemplative life, but from an inner impulse drawn from action. And watch him interrupt from time to time his translations to disseminate throughout the country a great number of small temples and chapels that must have, more than the doctrinal texts, contributed to the diffusion among the rough population of shepherds that lived in the bitter mountains of Western Tibet of respect for the new faith, by now introduced in more noble forms; and revived religious spirit. Tradition attributes to him the construction of 108 edifices of major and minor importance. The number 108 is sacred in Buddhism and is thus suspect and cannot be taken literally; but it is certain that many temples that still exist in Western Tibet arose from his initiative. And even if we do not wish to honor the pretentions of all the little villages of Ladakh, Lahul, Spiti, Kunuwar, Guge that pride themselves in having a Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po Lotsavaḥi lha-khaṅ, that is, a chapel constructed by the lotsâva, it is certain that in many cases the tradition tells the truth; it is confirmed not only in the generally reliable biographical sources, as we have already noted, but also in the epigraphic and palaeographic data and especially in the paintings or statues or in cult objects conserved in the temples that go back undoubtedly to the period which we are considering and, that as Francke has repeatedly observed, they should be, in many cases, attributed securely to Indian artists. This work of his, if it did not create, it did consolidate without a doubt the position of Lamaism in Western Tibet; he was able to succeed

because as pointed out earlier, he was assisted by the great energy and good will of the kings of Guge His name cannot be disassociated from that of Ye-śes-ḥod and of Byaṅ-chub-ḥod. The kings of Guge showered him with honors: when he returned from his travels, according to both our biography and the Deb-ther, Lha-lde called him *Dbuḥi mchod-gnas* and *Rdo-rje slob-dpon* that is "supremely venerable" and "Vajrâcârya", two honorific titles that must have augmented his prestige and authority at court and in the state. And quickly following the example of Indian rajas, they also made gifts of land to him, four of which, according to the sources, were in the province of Puraṅ. Immediately afterwards we see the lotsâva erect the first of the great temples, those of Kha-char (or Ḥkhaḥ-char or Ḥkhab-char), of Tho-liṅ and of Myar-ma. That of Kha-char was erected expressly at the wish of King Lha-lde: *de-nas bla-chen-po Lha-ldes Kha-char-kyi btsug-lha-khaṅ bzheṅs-su-gsol* (fol. 29), information that does not completely agree with that furnished by the Rgyal-rabs that says that the founder was Khor-re. The site, to my mind, is not precise; but that it was in Puraṅ is explicitly asserted by our biography fol 30 *Spu-traṅs-kyi Hkha-ḥchar* (at fol. 44 Ḥkhaḥ-char) (1). Moreover, the fact that in order to indicate the great activity of construction of the lotsâva, it says that he built 108 temples from Ḥkhaḥ-char in Puraṅ to Ho-bu-laṅ-bkaḥ (fol. 44, compare fol. 29 where the spelling is Ho-bu-laṅ-kaḥ) seems to indicate that it is located in the extreme edge of Pu-raṅ where this region touches Tibet, true and proper; instead Ho-bu-laṅ-ka is rather close to China (2) and I would situate it at Khapalu northwest of Ladakh, near which even today exists a village called Laṅ-ka. This region of the temple which we are discussing was securely Buddhist.

(1) There is, however, a Kang-sar to the southeast of Toling and to the south of Sutlej.

(2) As Gergan proposes in the preface of Francke in *Lha-luṅ Temple* of Shuttleworth.

The same spelling of the name of the monastery could be correct on the basis of the colophon of the Sūtrālaṅkārādiślokadvayavyākhyāna (Mdo ḥgrel, tshi, Cordier 2.377) the version of which was executed, in fact, in the monastery Dpal-yid-bźin-lhun-gyis-grub-pa at a Khva-char. That the monastery is the one mentioned by our sources seems to be demonstrated by the fact that among the translators we see figured the Kashmiri pandit, Parahitabhadra, who, as is known, was one of the masters who worked at Toling, as is clearly indicated in the colophon to the Dharmadharmatâvibhaṅga (Mdo ḥgrel, phi, Cordier 2.374). The place has nothing to do with Khva-tse of the Deb-ther because we have already seen that this was not in Pu-raṅ, but in the outskirts of Rad-nis, that is near Shipki.

Myar-ma is in Mar-yul, that is Ladakh: it is not indicated on the map, but it can be securely identified with the ruins that still exist today in the environs of Ranbirpur, in the vicinity of Tikse that I visited many times (1) (Ṅyerma).

Coming last is the greatest of all, that of Tho-liṅ indicated on the old maps as Totling and on the recent ones Toling, Tolingmath (2) of which Sven Hedin, Rawling, and, in particular, Young spoke, in a little known work that is worthy of greater consideration. This temple was constructed at the wish of Ye-śes-ḥod, and Toling was probably the capital of the state of that time. One cannot determine the date of its construction precisely; in fact there is no warranty to accept the date of 1014 (*Ga-panther-jahr*) suggested by Ssanang Ssetsen p. 53 because as we have

(1) See *Indo-Tibetica* 1.50-51.

(2) The spelling is various; in the colophons of Bstan-ḥgyur and of Bkaḥ-ḥgyur it is usually Tho-liṅ; thus also in the biography and the Rgyal-rabs. Incorrectly in the Bkaḥ-thaṅ-sde-lṅa the deformation (ṅa, folio 70) Mkho-mthiṅ, in the Deb-ther it is (ca 4) Mtho-ldiṅ and thus also in Padma-dkar-po (110); in Kloṅ-rdol-blama (2,9) *Tho-ldiṅ*.

(3) In "Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet" in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* 3(2). 117.

seen the dates concerning Ye-śes-ḥod and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po are contradicted by our Tibetan sources. Equally untenable is a date of 1025 proposed by S. Ch. Das in *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p.52. Whereas, according to the biography, the temple would have been constructed by the lotsâva after his return from India, according to the Pad-ma-dkar-po it was built by the king of Guge before the Indian mission of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po. As we have deduced from the colophon of the Śūnyatāsaptativivṛtti (Mdo ḥgrel, ya, Cordier 2.305) it was erected in the town of Guge in the district of Guṅ-thaṅ in the province of Mṅaḥ-ris. And it was during this period of time that the great hot bed of Buddhist studies prospered there under the aegis and protection of the enlightened princes. In the colophons of the Bstan-ḥgyur and the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur this monastery is often recorded as the place where the important translations were being made; for example Śūnyatāsaptativivṛtti (Cordier 2.305, from the Parahitabhadra mentioned above), Bodhipathapradīpa (2.336, 337), revision of Vinayasaṅgraha (2.401). Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga (2.374), Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra and ṭikā (2.442, 443), Śrīparamādiṭīkā (1.261), Sitāpatrasācchakavidhi (1.364).

One of the vihāras of Tho-liṅ in which they worked especially on translations was called Dpal Dpe-med-lhun-gyis-grub-pa in which was executed the version of the commentary to the Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra and the Paramādiṭīkā (1): another was known under the name of gser-khaṅ, frequent in temples of this period (see Beck p. 97 n. 8 and Otani Cat. p. 52 n. 137 where instead of tho-riṅ it should read Tho-liṅ).

(1) From the Deb-ther-sṅon-po (ca 4) we learn that from the time of Atiśa the walls of the temple were covered with pictures figuring the principal divinities of various Tantric cycles (about which compare Young, op. cit., p. 192). The episode is also known to Bu-ston, p. 213 according to which the paintings would have been in the room of the lotsâva. The contradiction is only apparent, because usually, even today, the great masters live in the chapels, when a real monastery in lacking.

§ 16. *Another trip to India*

Having consecrated the major temples, we see him take again the inaccessible roads of India and this time on behalf of Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod and of Bla-ma Byaṅ-chub-ḥod, who desired that he bring back books and artists who would fashion statues of the gods. Evidently, the temples that were constructed were rather unadorned and in Tibet they could not find a way to decorate or finish them as they would have liked. And to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, who must have described at the court of the kings, his lords and friends, the riches and the art that was collected in the sanctuaries of India, was entrusted with the task of providing these things so that Tibet would also have temples not unworthy of those in India. And he succeeded perfectly in his intent; since Tabo and Alchi and for what one knows also Toling are derived directly from the contemporary art of India, of which these temples have conserved precious documents that should be guarded and protected by every means.

I was struck by the curious notice in the biography that in Kashmir he had made an image in bronze of his father by a famous artist called Ḥbi-ta-ka (in the source used by Gergan: Bhitaka) and he had it sent to Tibet, where, in the author's time, it was still conserved in the temple of Go-khar in Kha-rtse. In fact, for what I know, it is not the custom for Tibetans to make images of the deceased; they do not permit other than portraits of the donors and those who have executed on their own account some religious work, such as a painting, for example. But this does not fit our case, since we know that the father of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po had already been dead for some time. Nor at any rate could the image be called a portrait, in any manner, because it was executed in a foreign land by an artist who had never known the person he was requested to represent.

We are perhaps in the presence of funeral rites in use in pre-Buddhist Tibet and that Buddhism completely eradicated, little by little, or perhaps the image was placed in the temple of Go-khar because it was constructed in memory of the father of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po.

This second absence of the lotsāva from Tibet was not, however, as long as the first.

§ 17. *New activities of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po*

After six years Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po returned to his country bringing with him thirtytwo Kashmiri artists (fol. 33). But this time also the joy of returning must have been disturbed by an unfortunate event; for in the meantime, the king Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod had been imprisoned and the lotsāva was never to see him again. But the work undertaken was not stopped: thanks to the interest of Lha-bla-ma Byaṅ-chub-ḥod and the king Lha-lde, we see the lotsāva make use of his Indian artists and to line up as troops in twentyone different sites, that had been donated to him by those princes, so many temples and chapels that they completed together with the major centres cited above, the penetration of Buddhism into the tribes of Western Tibet. They were so many tentacles that extended the faith into every place in the bitter fight against still existing forms of Bon-po. And in one year he made a tour depositing in each three copies of the Mdo-maṅ and seven of the Prajñā (fol 34). Special preference was given to the temple of Rad-nis, in that of Khyuṅ-veṅ, the birthplace of the lotsāva, that I have mentioned above.

The foundation of the chapel in Rad-nis (fol. 36) seems to have aroused the protest of the still vigorous centres of Bon-po; it is in this light, it seems to me, at least, that one ought to interpret the legend which tells of the hostility of the local Sa-bdag (spirits of the place) represented by a nāgī (klu-ḥbrog-mo) called sman-ḥdsa-la-ma-ti, that is Jalamati, by her four brothers and by still others that in the end were completely subdued by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and elected as guardians of the diverse temples that he was constructing (1).

(1) The tradition of this battle sustained by the lotsāva against local demons, that is, against, the religion in which they believed is sketched also in the tale of Bu-ston, p. 214: "The great translator Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po subdued the nāga Kar-gyal and refuted the false exorcists by means of the doctrine". [The name Jalamati is Sman- ḥdza-la-ma-ti = Mañjulamati, Lokesh Chandra].

As we see, the story of Padmasambhava is repeated in modest proportions; nor should the tale of the biography be considered a mere legend, since it is clear that before Buddhism could conquer the country definitively, it had to placate the hostility of the pre-existing sects and its victory was in great part assured only by a progressive assimilation of local cults and by the acceptance of them, transformed into Buddhist ones most often only on the exterior.

It was in this manner that Buddhism succeeded in substituting itself for the religion of Bon-po, at one time certainly rather diffused and powerful, since, as has been noted, it was precisely in Žaṅ-źuṅ, that is Guge, that Gźen-rabs, the systematizer of the sect was born. This tenacious battle against the Bon is alluded to in the inscription of Ye-śes-ḥod in Poo, in which is mentioned the religion of the gods, also called the religion before Buddhism: Lha-chos and snar-chos. The Lha are in fact, the gods of the Bon, who still in the Tibetan imagination populate the dangerous passes or bridges and impervious paths and that require propitiation to avoid their wrath; the books of the Bon-po almost always begin with an incomprehensible heading: in the "language of the gods" "*Lhaḥi skad-du*". It is necessary to add that in this work of propaganda the kings of Guge were probably motivated by political reasons. For however sincere their faith may have been, one ought not to forget that Ye-śes-ḥod was a king, and a king whose family had been settled for only a short time on the ground that he ruled and he must have met with the opposition of hostile forces which, as it happens in the Orient, is realized in religious movements or guided by religious sects.

Thus, it is not improbable that behind this intense work of Buddhist propaganda in a country that we have serious reasons to consider the homeland of the systematized Bon, are hidden more or less secret political motives: to overthrow Bon-po, or let us say rather, to absorb it into the new faith signified a unification of minds, while as head of the religion, the king could have a great influence and control over a population that had become Buddhist.

§ 18. *Works of art and books deposited in the temples*

Having constructed the temple of Rad-nis, Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po decided to furnish it with cult objects and to embellish it with works of art. The author of the biography, who was from Guge, must have known the temple well and thus it would not be in vain to summarize that which he said of this Lha-khaṅ and of the things that were to be admired. A further examination of these notices in order to shed more light on the state of conservation of the temple must be the concern of future research. In it he placed an ivory statue of the "the Great Compassionate One" (Buddha or more likely Avalokiteśvara) (*Ba-soḥi Thugs-rjes-chen-poḥi rten*), a wonderful statue of Hevajra, made from the wood of the tree of enlightenment (*byaṅ-chub-kyi-śiṅ-las* (ms. *la*) *bz'eṅs-paḥi dpal Dges-pa-rdo-rjeḥi rten*) and a manuscript of the Guhyasamāja, written in Indian characters on the bark of a tree of Indian origin (*dpal Gsaṅ-ba-ḥdus-paḥi dpe* (ms. *spe*) *Rgya-dkar* (ms. *brgya-dkar*)-*kyi śiṅ-śun-la rgya-yig-gi*(*s*) *bris-pa*); from folio 36 b we learn that he made in the same temple images of all the divinities of the cycle of the Guhyasamāja: which probably means that paintings on the walls were connected with this Tantric cycle in which he was especially initiated and whose introduction into Tibet, as we have seen above, he effectively contributed to. And together he placed in the temple another 45 statues made either of copper or bronze (*gz'an yaṅ* (ms. *bz'an*) *zaṅs* (ms. *zaṅ*) *sku-rag sku-la-sogs-paḥi rten rnam-pa bz'i-bcu-z'e-lṅa bz'ugs-so*).

But in every temple that Buddhists consider as a *Thugs-rten* or receptacle of the Buddha's spirit, are conserved not only the images of the gods, but also their words. Following the Indian tradition that Buddhist books are *buddhabhāsita*, that is they contain the words of the Buddha and altogether they represent the continuity of Dharma, or the Law, in which he lives, is renewed and

reveals himself, the temples, being among the most venerated works, were destined to receive collections of the sacred texts. Faithful to this principle, the lotsâva is said to have deposited a Tripiṭaka of a total number of 468 volumes in the monastery of Rad-nis. Actually the number of such volumes greatly exceeds that of the tomes of the Bstan-ḥgyur and the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and does not in itself merit to be trusted greatly, because in the time of the lotsâva the work of the translation of doctrinal and canonical texts was far from being concluded, nor had the systematization of the Buddhist literature as it was known in Tibet occurred. There is no doubt that the compiler of the biography transferred to the period of the lotsâva a state of things that were verified much later; or very probably, in the same temple were collected more copies of the same work according to a custom that we will see further on, exercised with great frequency.

From the names of the remainder of the text that the biographer cites one supposes that the texts gathered in the temple were solely in relation to the Prajñāpāramitā in its various versions (fol. 39) of which Francke, moreover, had found copies also in the monastery of Tabo. Nothing is said about the language in which such collections were written, but it is not to be excluded that beside the Tibetan versions there could have been conserved also the original Sanskrit ones brought from India and that had served as a basis for those translations. We do not know if such manuscripts are still preserved or where; but it is not improbable that in these ignored little temples one or two remain today, as zealously hidden from profane eyes as the ignorance of the monks increases. But the greatest part of them must have been transferred to the convents, when the great monastic institutions were beginning to develop: at that time the rich libraries became centres of culture and erudition and they transformed themselves into flourishing schools where they educated the monks towards that secure mastery of the sacred literature, once rather more common in the Country of Snows than it is today. Nor is it to be excluded that many of these Indian manuscripts were destroyed or dispersed in the wars that Guge engaged in against Ladakh, and especially during the Tibetan war that brought about the definitive annexation of the territory of Western Tibet by Greater Tibet. That is probable, since during the conflicts the monks became soldiers and the monasteries that were constructed almost always at the top of the mountains or close to the cliffs were by their very position, truly small fortresses; very often they rise well protected by bastions and castles, that would sweep the monasteries away in their own ruin, when they would be dismantled and destroyed by the victors.

In the text there follows a list of objects of various kinds that were placed in the temple by the lotsâva himself and by the lesser lotsâva, Legs-paḥi-śes-rab; but it is a simple listing of ritual objects that are not wanting in any chapel since they are necessary to the ceremonies carried out in them.

§ 19. *Other religious foundations attributed to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po*

Besides this temple we see listed another 21 minor ones, many of which still exist today in more or less dilapidated condition. I will discuss those that it is possible, at least, to identify and that I myself visited during my travels and that people connect precisely with Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po. They are usually known and marked with the name of *lotsāvaḥi lha-khaṅ* "temple of the Lotsâva". It seems, however, that there is no trace of many other temples, since the inhabited centres in which they arose were also destroyed or abandoned in the course of time. At any rate, I will give a complete list of them since they represent a good guide when one might want to finish the archaeological exploration of Western Tibet and reconstruct its artistic as well as political and religious history (fol. 43-44).

1. Żer-sa in Puraṅ, that in the copy of Gergan becomes bżer-ver; it is surely the same Zer in Puraṅ of which there is mention in the Deb-ther (kha 3).
2. Go-khar in Kha-rtse (Gergan: tse; see above; in the Deb-ther it is Khva-tse).
3. Phur-khar.
4. Pu-ri (Gergan Pho-ri) it is almost surely the monastery of Pu-ri opposite Shipki (in the old maps of the Survey Booree).

5. G.yañ-skur (Gergan: gyan-skur ri-hri) northwest of Tiak.

6. Ti-yag, in the maps of the Survey Tiak, on the road of the Hindustan-Tibet trade route, two days march from Shipki.

7. Stañ-med (fol. 43 tañ-med) (in Gergan tsañs-med) probably the Stang or Thang of the maps, south of the Pimikche pass.

8. Sne-hu.

9. Ṅye-van.

10. Śo-liñ.

11. Sgyu-man (Gergan: rgyu-lan).

12. Ro-dpag (Gergan: ro-pag).

13. Bcog-ro.

14. Re-hri (probably the Ri-hri that figures as the second half of the Gyañ-skur ri-hri in the list of Gergan), perhaps Ri, along the Sutlej, opposite Nak.

15. Drañ-drañ (Drangkhar in Spiti?).

16. Lari, evidently the homonymous village in Spiti.

17. Ta-pho, the great temple of Tabo in Spiti (near Lari). It was visited by Francke in 1909 and thus described in the work cited already many times: *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* 1.38 ff. Although it did not have the same importance as that of Toling, because it is far from the court and the capital, it is certain that it was also at one time one of the principal centres of the diffusion of Lamaist ideas instigated by Rin-chen-bzañ-po. This temple is also usually called *chos-ḥkhor* as Toling, Alchi, etc. What does this designation that was given to some of the most celebrated temples of Western Tibet mean? Franke (1) thought that *chos-ḥkhor* indicated a passage for the circumambulation of the faithful: that is he understood *chos-ḥkhor* or synonymous with *gyas-ḥkhor*. I, however, do not believe that is the exact interpretation. *Chos-ḥkhor* means literally dharmacakra and calls to mind

(1) Shuttleworth, *Lha-luñ Temple*, introd. III.

the *dharmacakrapravartana*, the setting in motion of the wheel of Law performed by the Buddha with the preaching of the doctrine. Thus, I think that *chos-ḥkhor* might be a designation of temples in which on some occasions during the period of the kings of Guge, they convoked councils or preached the Law at least partially taking advantage of the presence of the Indian masters invited to Tibet and from the necessity to make the tradition uniform with regard to the diverse texts translated.

In fact, we know that a *chos-ḥkhor* took place under King Rtse-lde in 1076 and that the gathering of the masters that had come from various parts of Tibet and who were considered as repositories of various aspects of doctrine was called precisely *chos-ḥkhor* (Deb-ther kha 4: *Me-pho-ḥbrug-gi chos-ḥkhor z'es-bya-ba Dbus Gtsañ Khams gsum-gyi sde* (xyl. *lde*)*-snod-ḥdzin-po phal-che-ba yañ ḥdus*). From the rest of the same Deb-ther (ja 2) we deduce that Tabo had a great importance and hosted for some time famous masters; in fact, it is narrated there (in Deb-ther) that when the pandit Kashmiri Jñānaśrī came to Tibet, he established himself in the chos-ḥkhor of Tabo. It was there that he learned the Tibetan language and for seven years imparted Tantric teachings to Ṅyi-ma-śes-rab of Gñal, the disciple, as we have seen, of the Lotsāva of Zañs-dkar.

18. Śañ-rañ of the Survey maps and south of Kuang (1).

19. Rig-rtse.

20. Tsa-rañ, I do not think that it is Tsa-pa-rañ, but rather Charang, in the proximity of Bekhar.

21. Dril-chuñ-re the same as the dri-la-chuñ of Gergan's list.

In addition, the temples of Dkar-dpag in Lho, that is to the south, of Mo-na in Grug-dpag; in Roñ-chuñ that of Pu (Poo of the maps) and in Ṅa-ra that of Bkaḥnam, in the village of the same name, along the Sutlej (near Jangi) where Csoma de Koros lived for some time (2).

(1) But in the text it is divided poorly: śañ rañ rig/rtse, Rañ is a very common final in the toponomy of Guge.

(2) See Francke, *Antiquities*, 1.16.

A TAN KAPUJA BUDDHISTA FŐISKOLA KÖNYVTÁR

When Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po was (87 fol. 47) he met (1) the great Atīśa, or as the Tibetans usually call him, Jo-bo, who had been expressly called to Tibet by the king of Guge: the meeting is described with abundant detail, not only by our biography, but also in the life of Atīśa and in the Deb-ther-sṅon-po. The lotsāva already burdened by his years and doctrine did not hesitate to kneel before the luminary of Vikramaśīlā, indeed, he requested and received some supplementary initiations such as that of Bde-mchog (Saṁvara), Tārā and Avalokiteśvara according to the rite introduced by Atīśa.

At 98 he died, we do not know how: because the legend speaks of his vanishing in the air, as is the usual convention in the lives of the great saints and thaumaturges of Tibet.

But the work that he began was not interrupted: Buddhism was flourishing again in Western Tibet. The enlivening apostolate of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po kindled new enthusiasm. And his disciples continued with constant fervor the activity of the master.

SARVA-MANGALAM

(1) But according to the Deb-ther-sṅon-po cited above, when he was 85; the same date is repeated in this work ṅa 1.

APPENDIX

Deb-ther-sṅon-po   ka 19a7

དེའི་(འོད་སྲུངས)སྲས་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན། དེ་འབངས་ཀྱིས་བཀྲོངས་དབུས་
གཙང་མཐིལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཤོར་ནས། སྲས་ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེགས་པ་དཔལ་དང་།
སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ། ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེགས་པ་དཔལ་གཙང་སྟོད་དུ་
བཞུགས་ཉི་མ་མགོན་མངའ་རིས་སུ་བྱོན། དེ་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་སྟེ། དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན།
བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ་མགོན། ལྡེ་གཙུག་མགོན་རྣམས་སོ། ཆེ་བས་མར་ཡུལ། བར་པས་
སྤུ་ཧྲངས། ཆུང་བས་ཞང་ཞུང་སྟེ་ག་གེའི་མངའ་ཞབས་ན་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་
མགོན་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ། འཁོར་རེ་དང་སྲོང་ངེའོ། འཁོར་རེ་ལ་སྲས་ནཱ་ག་རཱ་ཛ་
དང་དེ་བ་རཱ་ཛ་གཉིས་སོ། འཁོར་རེ་ཡབ་སྲས་གསུམ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས་སྲོང་ངེ་ལ་
སྲིད་གཏད། དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་འོད་ལྡེ་སྲིད་གཟུང་། གཅུང་པོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་
འོད་དང་ཞི་བ་འོད་གཉིས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། འོད་ལྡེའི་སྲས་རྩེ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་འབར་ལྡེ།
དེ་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། བྷ་ལྡེ། ནཱ་ག་དེ་བ། བཙན་ཕྱུག་ལྡེ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། གྲགས་
བཙན་ལྡེ། གྲགས་པ་ལྡེ། ཨ་སོ་ག་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་འཛི་དར་རྨལ་དང་ཨ་ནན་རྨལ་
གཉིས། ཕྱི་མའི་སྲས་རི་འུ་རྨལ། དེ་ནས་སང་གྷ་རྨལ། འཛི་དར་རྨལ་གྱི་བུ་
ཨ་འཇིད་རྨལ། དེའི་བུ་ཀ་ལན་རྨལ། དེའི་བུ་པར་བཏབ་རྨལ། དེས་ཡ་ཚེའི་
རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་ཆད།

Deb-ther-sṅon-po   kha 3b2

སྲོང་བཙན་འཁྲུངས་ནས་ལོ་སུམ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་དགུ་འདས་པ་ས་ཕོ་རྟའི་ལོ་ལ་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་འཁྲུངས། ། ཁོང་གིས་བཅུ་གསུམ་བཞེས་པའི་ཚེ་མཁན་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། ། ཁྲི་ཐང་ཛྙཱ་ནས་བཀོད་པའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ན་འདུག ། དེ་ལྟ་ན་ནི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་ལོ་དེ། བསྟན་པ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་ལུགས་བྱ་ནས་ལོ་བདུན་བཅུ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། བསྟན་པ་བྱུང་བ་ཡང་དབུས་གཙང་ལས་མངའ་རིས་སྔ་བར་མངོན་ནོ། ལོ་ཙཱ་བས་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་རྩ་ལྔ་བཞེས་པ་ལ་ཇོ་བོ་རྗེ་བོད་དུ་བྱོན། ། ལོ་ཙཱ་བས་མཇལ། ། སྤྱིར་ལོ་ཆེན་འདིས་སྐྱ་གཞོན་པ་ནས་ཁ་ཆེར་བྱོན། སྔགས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལུགས་མང་པོ་ལ་སྦྱངས། མཁྱེན་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བས་མདོ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མང་པོ་བསྒྱུར། ། ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་གཉིས་ཀའི་བཤད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་མཛད། དབང་དང་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ལག་ལེན་མང་དུ་བསྟན་ཞིང་། བསྟན་པ་སྔ་དར་ལས་ཕྱི་དར་སྔགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བོད་དུ་དར་བ་ཡང་ཕལ་ཆེར་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་འདི་ཁོ་ནའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཡིན། པཎྜི་ཏ་བདུན་བཅུ་རྩ་ལྔ་བསྟེན་ནས་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་མང་དུ་གསན། ། བླ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱིས་དབུའི་མཆོད་གནས་དང་རྡོ་རྗེ་སློབ་དཔོན་དུ་བཀུར། ། སྤུ་ཧྲངས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་གི་གནས་གཞི་ཕུལ། ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཀྱང་བཞེངས། ། ཁྭ་ཙེའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། རོང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་སོགས་པ་གནས་གཞི་དང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་མཆོད་རྟེན་མང་དུ་བཞེངས། ། གར་ཞིང་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སློབ་མ་མཁས་གྲུབ་མང་པོ་དགེ་ཤེས་ཆེན་ཕེར་བའི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཡང་བཅུ་ལྷག་ཙམ་བྱོན། ། འཕྲུལ་གྱི་མཛད་པ་ཡང་སྣ་གཟུགས་

བཞེངས་པ་དང་འགྱུར་མཛད་པ་ལ་སོགས་རེ་རེའི་རྟེན་ཀྱང་གཞན་གྱིས་མི་སྤོགས་པ་དང་། མཚན་ཡང་དག་པར་བརྗོད་པ་ཡང་སཾ་སྐྲྀ་ཏའི་སྐད་དུ་འབུམ་ཕྲག་གཅིག ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་དུ་འབུམ་ཕྲག་གཅིག ། གཞན་ལ་ཡོན་ཕྱིན་དེ་འབུམ་ཕྲག་གཅིག་རྣམས་བཏོན། ། མཐར་རྗེ་བ་རྗེས་སྒྲུབ་པ་ལ་བཙུད་དེ། ། སྒྲུབ་ཁང་གི་ཕྱི་རོལ་ན་སྒོ་སུམ་རིམ་དུ་ཡོད་པ་ལ། ། ཚེ་འདིའི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་དང་། རང་དོན་ཡིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་དང་། ཐ་མལ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་རྣམས་སྐད་ཅིག་མ་རེ་སྐྱེས་ན། བསྟན་བསྲུངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཁ་བའི་མགོ་བོ་ཁྲོས་ཤིག་ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་བློ་ཡིག་སྦྱར་ནས། ། རྩེ་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྒྲུབས་པས་མཆོག་གི་གྲུབ་པ་བརྙེས་དེ། ། དགུང་ལོ་དགུ་བཅུ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་པ་ཤིང་མོ་ལུག་ལ་ཁྲ་ཙེ་སྤྱིང་གིར་དུ་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པའི་ཚེ། ། ནམ་མཁའ་གང་བའི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རོལ་མོ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་སྒྲོགས་པ་དང་། མེ་ཏོག་གི་ཆར་འབེབས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཁྱུང་པའི་ཕྱིས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱེ་བོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་མངོན་སུམ་དུ་གྲགས། ། གདུང་གདན་ས་བྱུང་བས་མཁའ་སྤྱོད་དུ་གཤེགས་ཞེས་གྲགས། ། རིང་བསྲེལ་འོལ་མ་སེའི་མདོག་ལྟ་བུ་ཤིན་དུ་དམར་པོ་གསུམ་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད། ཇེ་ཞིག་ལྟར་འབྲུག་ལྷ་བུའི་སྒྲ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་ནམ་མཁར་སོང་ངོ་། ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་སྐབས་སོ། ... གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་བླ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱིས། རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་པཎྜི་ཏ་དྷརྨ་པཱ་ལ་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ། འདུལ་བའི་བཤད་པ་དང་ལག་ལེན་མཛད་པའི་སློབ་མའི་གཙོ་བོ་སཱ་དྷུ་པཱ་ལ། གུ་ཎ་པཱ་ལ། པྲཛྙཱ་པཱ་ལ་སྟེ། པཱ་ལ་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སློབ་མ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་སྟེ། ། དེ་རྣམས་ལས་བརྒྱུད་པ་ལ་སྟོད་འདུལ་བ་ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་ལྡེའི་རིང་ལ་སུ་བྷཱུ་ཏི་ཤྲཱི་ཤཱནྟི། ཁ་ཆེ་པཎ་ཆེན་དུ་གྲགས་པ་དེ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་བརྒྱད

སྟོང་པ་དང༌། དེའི་འགྲེལ་ཆེན་དང༌། མངོན་པར་རྟོགས་པའི་རྒྱན་འགྲེལ་པ་དང་
བཅས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་པ་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་མདོ་དང་བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་དུ་བསྒྱུར།
ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་སློབ་མ་ལོ་ཙཱ་མཆོག་ཏུ་མཁས་པ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འདུལ་བའི་
སྡེ་སྣོད་མང་པོ་དང་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང༌། སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་བསྒྱུར།
ཁྱད་པར་རྨ་དགེ་བའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱིས་ཚད་མ་རྣམ་འགྲེལ་དང༌། དེའི་རང་འགྲེལ་དང༌།
ལྷ་དབང་བློའི་འགྲེལ་པ་དང༌། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་བློའི་འགྲེལ་བཤད་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་
བསྒྱུར་ཞིང༌། འཆད་ཉན་གྱིས་གདན་ལ་ཕབ། དེ་ལས་མཆེད་ནས་དབུས་གཙང་གི་
ཕྱོགས་འདིར་ཡང་ཚད་མའི་འཆད་ཉན་བྱུང་ཞིང༌། དེའི་ཚེ་ཁྱུང་པོ་གྲགས་སེ་ཞེས་
བྱ་བ་མཁས་པར་གྲགས་པ་དེས་ཚད་མའི་བཤད་པ་མང་དུ་མཛད། དེ་དག་ལ་ཚད་
མ་རྙིང་མ་ཞེས་ཟེར། ཕྱིས་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་བློ་ལྡན་ཤེས་རབ་ནས་ཚད་མ་གསར་མར་
གྲགས་པ་རྣམས་བྱུང༌། མཁས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཛྙཱ་ན་ཤྲཱི་ཡང་སྤྱན་མ་དྲངས་པར་བོད་དུ་
བྱོན། དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་པཎྜི་ཏ་མང་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པའི་འགྱུར་མང་པོ་
མཛད་པ་དང༌། འོད་ལྡེའི་རིང་ལ་ཇོ་བོ་རྗེ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་བསྟན་པ་ལ་ཞུས་དག
མཛད་པ་དང༌། དེའི་སྲས་རྩེ་ལྡེ་རིང་ལ། མེ་ཕོ་འབྲུག་གི་ཆོས་འཁོར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ
དབུས་གཙང་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་ལྡེ་སྣོད་འཛིན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཕལ་ཆེ་བ་ཡང་འདུས།
ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ལེགས་པར་སོ་སོར་བསྐོར། ཟངས་དཀར་ལོ་ཙཱ་བས་ཚད་མ
རྒྱན་ཡང་དེའི་དུས་སུ་བསྒྱུར་བ་མཛད་དེ། སྤྱིར་ན་མངའ་རིས་བསྐོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་
རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསྟན་པའི་ཞབས་ཏོག་བགྱིས་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ནི་ཡུལ་གཞན་གང་ན་ཡང་མ་
མཆིས། ཆོས་འཁོར་དེ་ལ་རྔོག་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་དང༌། གཉན་ལོ་ཙཱ་དང༌། ཁྱུང་པོ་ཆོས་བརྩོན་
དང༌། བཙན་ཁ་བོ་ཆེ་དང༌། རྡོག་བློ་ལྡན་ཤེས་རབ་དང༌། མར་ཐུང་དད་པ་ཤེས་

རབ་སྟེ་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འགྲུལ་ཚན་ལ་དགས་པོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཡོང་ཡང་དེ་ཆོས་
འཁོར་དེ་ལ་སྐྱེགས།

Deb-ther-sṅon-po ca 2a5

ལྷ་བཙུན་པ་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ཀྱིས་ལན་མང་པོའི་བར་དུ་གསེར་མང་པོ་བསྐུར་
བའི་སྤྱན་འདྲེན་པ་མང་དུ་བཏངས་དེ། དེ་ཡང་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བླ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་
འོད་ཅེས་གྲགས་པ་དེའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་སྲོང་ངེ། དེའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ལྡེ། དེའི་
རྒྱལ་ཚབ་འོད་ལྡེ། དེ་ལ་གཅུང་པོ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷ་བཙུན་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ཆེ་བ།
ཆུང་བ་དགེ་སློང་ཞི་བའི་འོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་ཆོས་མཐའ་དག་ལ་
མཁས་ཤིང་ལོ་ཙཱ་ཡང་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཁས་པར་མཁྱེན་པ་ཞིག་བཞུགས། ལྷ་བླ་མ་ཡེ་
ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གདད་ཟིན་ཀྱང་དམག་གི་དཔོན་མཛད་དེ། གར་
ལོག་དང་འཐབས་པས་ཕམ་སྟེ། གར་ལོག་གིས་བཙོན་དུ་བཟུང༌།

Deb-ther-sṅon-po ja 1a3

བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་ལ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཕྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ཀའི་བཤད་པ་རྒྱུན་དང་བཅས་དེ་
མང་དུ་བྱུང་ངོ༌། དེ་ཡང་སྐྱེས་བུའི་མཆོག་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་
གྲགས་པ་དེས། སྤྱིར་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་
ཅིང་བཤད་པ་ཡང་མཛད་མོད། བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བཤད་པ་ཇི་ལྟར་
མཛད་པ་ནི། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་དེས་ཁ་ཆེར་ལན་གསུམ་བྱོན། དེར་བླ་མ་མང་པོ་
བསྟེན། བོད་དུ་ཡང་པཎྜི་ཏ་མང་པོ་སྤྱན་དྲངས། བཤད་པའི་སློལ་ལེགས་པར་

བཙུགས་ཏེ། དེ་ཉིད་བསྡུས་པའི་རྒྱུད་ལ་འགྲེལ་པ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀུན་སྙིང་གིས་མཛད་པའི་དེ་ཉིད་སྣང་བ་དང་། དཔལ་མཆོག་གི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་པ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀུན་དགའ་སྙིང་པོས་མཛད་པ་ཡང་ཉོལ་ཁྲིངས་འགའ་རེ་ལུས་པ་ཞིག་དང་། ཀུན་དགའ་སྙིང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྱུང་བའི་ཆོ་ག་ལག་ལེན་དང་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་དང་། སྒྱུ་འཕྲུལ་དྲ་བའི་རྒྱུད་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀུན་དགའ་སྙིང་པོའི་བཤད་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། ཐམས་ཅད་གསང་བའི་རྒྱུད་སློབ་དཔོན་ཤཱ་ནྟི་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་དེ་དག་གི་ཕྲན་མང་པོ་ཡང་བསྒྱུར་ཞིང་ཕྱག་ལེན་དུ་མཛད་དེ་ལེགས་པར་བསྒྲུངས་པ་ལས། མངའ་རིས་དང་དབུས་གཙང་པའི་སློབ་མ་ཡང་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལས། ལོ་ཆུང་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ། མང་ནང་གི་གུར་ཤིང་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། གྲུ་པ་གཞོན་ནུ་ཤེས་རབ། སྤྱི་ཏོར་ཛྙཱ་ན་དང་བཞི་ལ་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྲས་བཞིར་གྲགས། གཞན་ཡང་སྤུ་ཧྲངས་པ་ཨན་སྟོན་གྲགས་རིན། རྒྱ་ཡེ་ཚུལ། གང་པ་དགེ་ཤེས། མར་ཡུལ་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག་བརྩེགས་རྣམས་ཏེ། བཞི་པོ་ནི་ལོ་ཆེན་ལོ་ཆུང་གཉིས་ཀའི་སློབ་མ་ཡིན། གཞན་ཡང་ཁྱུང་སྟོད་ཁྱུང་རི་སྤྱིའུ་དམར་གྱི་ཁྱུང་པ་ཆོས་བློས་ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་ཞབས་ལ་གདུགས། ལོ་ཆེན་ཁ་ཆེ་ནས་བྱོན་མ་ཐག་ཙམ་ལ་རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྱུང་བའི་དབང་ཤྲདྡྷ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་པ་དང་། ཀོ་ས་ལའི་རྒྱན་གསན། དཔལ་མཆོག་ཀྱང་ཉོལ་ཁྲིངས་ཆུང་ཟད་ཡོད་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་དབང་དང་བཅས་པ། ཤབ་སྟེ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་སྤྲིབས་ཤེད་དུ་གསན། གསང་འདུས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཞབས་ལུགས་ཀྱང་ལེགས་པར་གསན། ལག་ལེན་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྒོམ་ཆེན་ལ་བསླབས། བཤད་པ་རྣམས་གཙོ་བོར་ལོ་ཆུང་ལ་ཞུས། ལོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་ཁ་ཆེ་ལན་གཉིས་པ་འཁོར་རྗེས་ཉོལ་ཁྲིངས་གསབས་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། སྤུར་གྱི་

ཆོས་འཁྲུལ་ལུས་པ་ཡང་གསན། དེ་རྗེས་ཞངས་ཀྱི་སུམ་སྟོན་ཡེ་འབར་གྱིས་ལོ་བདུན་དུ་ལོ་ཆེན་བསྟེན། དེ་ཉིད་སྣང་བའི་སྟོད་འགྲེལ་དང་། དཔལ་མཆོག་སྟོད་འགྲེལ་དང་། དཔལ་མཆོག་ཉོལ་ཁྲིངས་ཅན་དང་། རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྱུང་བ་དང་། འགྲེལ་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་དབང་བཀའ་དང་། དཔལ་མཆོག་རྡོ་སེམས་དང་། རིགས་བསྡུས་ཀྱི་དབང་བཀའ་རྣམས་ཞུས། ལོ་ཆེན་ལ་བཀའ་ཐོབ་ཙམ་མཛད་ནས་སླངས་པ་ཕལ་ཆེ་བ་ལོ་ཆུང་ལ་མཛད། དེ་ནས་ཁྱུང་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཞར་གྱིས་ལོ་ཆེན་ལ་ཐུག་ཅིང་། གཙོ་བོར་ལོ་ཆུང་ལོ་བདུན་དུ་བསྟེན་ནས་སྦྱོར་ཡོ་ག་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་དཔལ་མཆོག་ལ་མཁས་པར་བྱས་ནས་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་སྤང་ཁ་དར་ཆུང་གི་ཕ་གཞོན་ནུ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ལས་སྟོད་ཀྱི་བྲག་སྟེངས་པ། ཀལ་འཆིང་རུའི་དམར་སྟོན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཞོག་པ་ཀླུ་སྟོན། བལ་ཤཱཀྱ་རྡོ་རྗེ། ཐང་སྟོན་ཀོད་ཁ་པ། ཞོག་གོང་ཁ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལོ་ཆེན་ལ་ཐུག་པ་ཙམ་བྱས་ནས། སློབ་གཉེར་གཙོ་ཆེར་ལོ་ཆུང་གི་དྲུང་དུ་སླངས། རྡོག་གེ་སེར་དང་། ཞངས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ཡེ་གཞོན་གྱིས་ལོ་རིན་ལ་བསྙེགས་པས་མ་ཟིན་པར་ལོ་ཆུང་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ། རྡོག་གེ་སེར་པས་མཚན་བརྗོད་འགྲེལ་ཆེན་ལ་མཁས་པར་བྱས་སོ། ལོ་ཆེན་གཤེགས་རྗེས་ཕོ་བྲང་ཞི་བ་འོད་ལོ་ཙཱ་ལ་མཁས་པས་འགྱུར་མང་པོ་མཛད་ཅིང་། ལོ་པཎ་མང་པོ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་དཔལ་མཆོག་གི་ཉོལ་ཁྲིངས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ལེགས་པར་བསབས། ཟངས་དཀར་འཕགས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་ལོ་ཆེན་ལ་མ་ཟིན་པར་ལོ་ཆུང་དང་། དེའི་ཟུར་ཆོས་པ་ཨན་སྟོན་གྲགས་རིན་ལ་བསྟེན་ནས། དེ་ཉིད་བསྡུས་པ་དང་དཔལ་མཆོག་གི་བཤད་བཀའ་དབང་བཀའ་དང་། སྦྱོང་རྒྱུད་མ་བུའི་བཤད་བཀའ་དབང་རྣམས་ལེགས་པར་གསན། དེ་ནས་པཎྜི་ཏ་གཞོན་ནུ་བུམ་པ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་དབུས་སུ་བྱོན་པའི་ཚེ། དེ་གོང་དུ

པ་ཎྜི་ཏ་ཀ་ཤ་བ་ཛྲ་དང་ཟངས་དཀར་གཞོན་ནུ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་འདམ་དུ་རྩེ་མོའི་
འགྱུར་མཛད་པའི་དཔེ་དང་། གཞོན་ནུ་ཐུབ་པས་རྒྱ་དཔེའི་སྟེང་ནས་བཤད། ཟངས་
དཀར་གྱིས་ལོ་ཙཱ་ཐུབ་ནས་སློན་གྲྭའི་མར་པ་རྫོང་ལས། ཁམས་པ་གྱུ་སྟོན། ཡམ་
ཤང་བླ་ཆུང་གསུམ་ལ་བཤད། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་སར་ཕྱིན་པའི་ཚེ་གཉལ་པ་ཉི་མ་ཤེས་
རབ་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་དེན་དགེ་བསྙེན་ཞིག་གིས་ལོ་པཎ་གཉིས་ལ་རྩེ་མོ་ཚར་གསུམ་
གསན། མཆན་དང་ཡིག་སྣ་མང་དུ་བྲིས། ཟངས་དཀར་དང་ཉི་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་
ཕྱིས་བལ་པོར་སྙེར་ཅིག་ཕྱིན། དེ་ནས་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་དང་དཔོན་སློབ་གཉིས་པོས་མངའ་
རིས་སུ་ཕྱིན། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཁ་ཆེར་བཞུད། གཉལ་གྱིས་རྩེ་མོ་ཚར་གཅིག་བཤད། ཕྱིས་
ཁ་ཆེ་རཏྣ་ཤྲཱི་བོད་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ཆོས་འཁོར་དུ་བོར་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། ལོ་གསུམ་ན་
པ་ཎྜི་ཏ་བོད་སྐད་བྱང་བར་གྱུར་པས། དེ་ལ་ལོ་བདུན་གྱི་བར་དུ་ལེགས་པར་མཉན།
མང་ནང་པ་ལ་ཀུན་སྙིང་གི་ལུགས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཞུས། སྐྱེ་ཝོར་རཏྣ་ན་ལ་ཛཾ་བའི་ལུགས་
ཀྱི་སྙིང་རྒྱུད་ལེགས་པར་ཞུས། ཕྱིས་ཟངས་དཀར་གྱིས་རྩེ་མོ་ལ་ཊཱི་ཀ་ཡང་མཛད།

Chos-hbyuṅ of Pad-ma-dkar-po, folio 107.3

གཉིས་པ་སྟོད་ནས་གསོས་ཚུལ་ནི། སྨད་དར་གྱི་སྐབས་འོད་སྲུངས་དང་ཡུམ་
བརྟན་གཉིས། དང་པོ་ལ་མངའ་བདག་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན། དེ་སྲུང་སྟོད་དུ་སྐྱགས་
ཀྱིས་བསྐྲངས་པ་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་འཛིན། ཁོང་གི་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བརྩེགས་པ་དཔལ་
དང་། སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་གཉིས་བྱུང་བའི་ཕྱི་མ་མངའ་རིས་སྟོད་དུ་སྤྱུགས་པ་ལ་
སྲས་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན། བླ་གཙུག་མགོན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་གསུམ་བྱུང་བ་སྟོད་དུ་
རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཞ་ཙམ་ཆགས། ཡ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་པོའང་དེ་རྣམས་ལ་ཟེར། སྨད་དུ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་

བརྩེགས་པས་བཞུགས། དེ་ལ་དཔལ་ལྡེ། འོད་ལྡེ། སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་གསུམ་བྱུང་། དབུས་
གཙང་གི་རུ་ལག་བཞི་བསྐྱངས་པས་སྨད་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལྷམ་ཙམ་ཆགས་ཟེར། བཀྲ་
ཤིས་མགོན་གྱི་སྲས་འོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་སྲས་སྲོང་ངེ་དང་ཁོ་རེ་གཉིས། སྲོང་
ངེས་ག་གེར་མཐོ་ལྡིང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་པའི་གྲོས་མཛད། ས་བྲ་མཁན་པོ་
ན་རེ། བརྩིགས་ཀྱང་ལོ་བརྒྱན་འཇིག་པར་འདུག་ཟེར། ད་ན་བཞག་གམ་གསུངས་
པས། ལོ་བརྒྱ་པོད་བསྟུན་པ་ལ་ནན་ལྟར་ཕན་པ་ཞིག་འོང་བར་འདུག་ཟེར་བ་ལ།
འོ་ན་བཞེང་རིན་ཆོག་དགོངས་ཏེ་བསམ་ཡས་ཇི་ལྟ་བ་ལ། ཁྱད་པར་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སུ
གསེར་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་བཞེངས་པས་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བའི་ཚེ། དེའི་འོད་ནང་ན
ཡར་ཐོག་པས་ལྷ་ཁང་ཐམས་ཅད་གསེར་གྱི་མདོག་ཏུ་ལྷག་གེར་འཆར་བས་མཐོ
ལྡིང་གསེར་ཁང་དུ་གྲགས། ཕྱིས་བསམ་ཡས་གཟིགས་པ་ན། ངའི་ཡབ་མེས་བོད
ཆུང་མ་ལ་དབང་བསྒྱུར་བའི་ཕྱག་རྗེས་ལས་ང་མཐའ་འཁོབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཞིག་གི
ཕྱག་ལས་མི་ཆུང་བར་འདུག་གསུང་། དེས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པ་བཀའ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་།
ཡར་ཆོ་པཎྜི་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཕྱགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱིར་སྤྲོལ་བྱས་པས།
དེ་དག་བཀའ་ཡིན་མིན་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ཟོས། རྡོ་རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསགས་ཏེ་ལོ
བཅུ་ལས་མར་མི་གཞོན། ཉི་ཤུ་ལས་ཡར་མི་རྒན་པ་མང་དུ་འཚོགས་པའི་བློ
ལ་བརྟགས་ནས་བློ་རབ་འབྲིང་དཀར་ཕྱེ། བློ་རབ་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་བདུན། དེ་རྣམས
ཀྱི་གཡོག་པོ་བདུན། ཡང་གཡོག་བྱེད་པ་བདུན་ཏེ་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཅིག་ཁམ་ལ་རིན་ཕྱིན
ནས་ཉེས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཆེར་བཏང་ངས། དེར་ཁོང་རྣམས་ལ་གསེར་མང་པོ་བསྐུར་ནས་འདི
སྐད་དུ་བསྒོའོ།། ཁ་ཆེའི་ཡུལ་ན་མཁས་པ་རིན་ཆེན་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པས་དེ
སྤྱན་དྲོངས། རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ན་རཏྣ་ཀ་ལ་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པས་དེ་སྤྱན་དྲོངས། ནུབ་

ཕྱོགས་ཀ་རུ་ན་པཎྜི་ཏ་ནོར་བུ་གླིང་པ་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པས་དེ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཤིག། དབུས་
འགྱུར་འཆང་ན་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཕྲ་རྫུ་བ་ཡི་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ལ་འདུས་པ་རྣམ་གཉིས་བྱ་
བའི་ཆོས་མུ་སྟེགས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་རྩོད་པར་མི་ནུས་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ཤེས་པར་གྱིས་ཤིག།
དེ་ཉིད་འདུས་པ་ལ་ཀུན་དགའ་སྙིང་པོའི་འགྲེལ་པ་ཡོད་ཟེར་བས། དེ་ཤེས་པར་
གྱིས་ཤིག། ནོར་བུ་གླིང་པ་དང་ཧཱུྃ་ཀཱ་ར་ལ་གཉིས་ལ་ལས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིབ་པ་རྒྱུན་གཅོད་
པའི་རྒྱུད་དང་། དེའི་འགྲེལ་པ་སློབ་དཔོན་དབྱིད་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་དང་། དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་
གྱི་ལྷ་སུམ་བརྒྱ་བཞི་བཅུ་པ་སློབ་དཔོན་རྒྱལ་བའི་ལྷས་མཛད་པ་ཡོད་ཟེར་བས། དེ་
ཤེས་པར་གྱིས་ཤིག། དཔལ་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཞབས་
དང་། འཕགས་པ་ཀླུ་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི་དཀྱིལ་ཆོག་ཡོད་ཟེར་བ་དང་། རིན་ཆེན་
རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་དུས་འཁོར་དང་། རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་བཞིའི་རྒྱུད་འགྲེལ་ཡོད་ཟེར་བས་ཚོལ་ལ་
ཤོག།། གཞན་བི་ཀྲ་མ་ཤཱི་ལ(1)ན་པཎྜི་ཏ་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད། མཁས་པ་བདུན་ཅུ་རྩ་
གཉིས། འགྲན་ཟླ་མེད་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་རྩ་བདུན། གཙུག་གི་ནོར་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་བཅུ་གཅིག།
འཛམ་བུའི་གླིང་གི་རྒྱན་ལྟ་བུ་བརྒྱད། ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱན་ལྟ་བུ་གཉིས་ཡོད་
ཟེར་བས། དེ་རྣམས་ལས་གང་བྱུང་རེ། རབ་གསེར་ལ་མ་རྟེག་པར་སྤྱན་ཅི་འདྲོངས་
གྱིས། འབྲིང་གདམས་པ་ཅི་ཐོབ་གྱིས། ཐ་མའང་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཆོས་གང་མཁས་པ་དང་།
གདམས་ངག་གང་ཆེ་བ་རྩད་ཆོད་ལ་ལུང་ཞུས་དགེ་ཡོངས་པ་གྱིས་ལ་ཤོག་བྱས་དེ་
བཏང་ངོ་།། ཁོང་རང་མཁན་སློབ་མེད་པར་བསྙེན་པར་རྫོགས། མཚན་ཡེ་ཤེས་
འོད། སྲས་གཉིས་ཀྱང་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གཅུང་གི་སྲས་ལྷ་ལྡེ་ལ་གཏད། དེ་
ལ་སྲས་གསུམ། འོད་ལྡེ། བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད། ཞི་བ་འོད་དོ།། བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ལ་ཐུགས་

(1) Xil.: *bi kra ma la śī la.*

བརྩེ(1)ཆེ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་དུ་བཅུག་གོ། དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བརྫངས་པ་རྣམས། དང་
པོ་ཁ་ཆེར་ཕྱིན། བཅུ་དག་ཁ་ཆེ་གྲིབ་བསྡད་དུ་ཤི། རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། ལེགས་
པའི་ཤེས་རབ་གཉིས་ལུས། རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོས་འཛིག་རྟེན་སྣང་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དཔལ་དུ་
ཞུགས། འཇམ་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཞལ་གསུམ་ཕྱག་དྲུག་པ་ལ་མེ་ཏོག་ཐོག། ཁ་ཆེ་རིན་
ཆེན་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་སོགས་པར་ཡོ་གའི་རྒྱུད་དཀྱིལ་ཆོག་དང་བཅས་པ། རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་
མས་ལུང་བསྟན་ནཱ་རོ་པ་ལ་གདམས་དེ། གསང་འདུས་ལུགས་གཉིས་གསན།
དབུས་འགྱུར་གྱི་པཎྜི་ཏ་འདུས་ནས། སློབ་མ་ཧཱུྃ་ཀཱ་ར་ལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བཙལ་ཡང་མ་
རྙེད། ནོར་བུ་གླིང་པ་ལ་ངན་སོང་སྦྱོང་རྒྱུད་དང་། ཐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལྔ། ཁྱད་པར་མི་
འཁྲུགས་པའི་རྒྱུད་གདམས་ངག་དང་བཅས་པ་ཞུས་སོ།། རྡོ་རྗེ་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་
འཁོར་དུ་ལྷ་གྲངས་དང་མཉམ་པའི་དབང་ཐོབ། བི་ཀྲ་མ་ཤཱི་ལར(2)པཎྜི་ཏ་སྨར་སྨེ་
མཛད་བཟང་པོ་དང་། མི་ཐུབ་ཟླ་བ་དང་། རྒྱལ་བའི་འབྱུང་གནས་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་
མཚན་ཉིད་མང་པོ་ཞུས། སྤྱིར་པཎྜི་ཏ་སུམ་ཅུ་རྩ་ལྔ་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ། རྒྱུད་སྡེ་བཞིའི་
སྒྲོ་འདོགས་ཁ་ཆེའི་པཎྜི་ཏ་དང་ནོར་བུ་གླིང་པ་ལ་བཅད། དགུང་ལོ་སོ་གསུམ་པ་ལ་
བོད་དུ་བྱོན། དེར་ཡོ་ག་ཁ་ཆེ་ལུགས་བཙུགས། མངའ་རིས་རྒྱལ་བློན་སྤྲོས་པ་ལ་
དགྱེས་ནས། གཞུང་ན་མེད་པའི་མཆོད་འཕྲེང་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་ལོ་ཆུང་ལེགས་ཤེ་
གྲི་བ་བདེ་བས་དབུངས་བཅོས། དགུང་ལོ་ཞེ་དག་པ་ལ་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཟླ་འོད་བཟང་པོ་དང་།
སྟི་ན་སེ་དང་། ཀ་མ་ལ་ར་ཀྵི་ཏ་ལ་བསྙེན་པར་རྫོགས། དབུས་གཙང་སྟོད་སྨད་ཀུན་
ཏུ་ཆོས་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ནས་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཤྲདྡྷཱ་ཀ་ར་ཝརྨ་བླ་མ་ནོར་བུ་གླིང་
པས་བོད་དུ་བཏང་ནས་རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྱུང་བ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཞབས་ལུགས་གསུངས། ཀ་ཅོག་

(1) Xil.: *rtsis.*

(2) Xil.: *bi kra ma la śī la.*

གི་འགྱུར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་བཅོས། བོད་སྐྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ལ་གྲུབ་ནས་རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་པཎྜི་ཏ་དྷརྨ་པཱ་ལ་བལ་པོའི་དེབ་ཁྲིད་པར་ཙན་ནམས་བསྐོར་བ་ལ་བྱོན་པས། པཎྜི་ཏ་ཚད་པས་བསྐྱང་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་གངས་རི་མཐོང་བར་བྱོན་ན་ཕན་ཟེར་བས། རྒྱལ་བློན་ཆོས་ལ་དགྱེས་བོད་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་པར་དགོངས་ནས་མངའ་རིས་སུ་བྱོན། དེར་ཡོ་ག་གསན་པས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀུན་དགའ་སྙིང་པོའི་གདམས་པ་མ་ནོར་བ་ཞིག་བྱུང་བས་ཤིན་དུ་མཉེས་ཏེ། གསེར་འཁར་སྟེར་གང་ཕུལ་བ་མ་བཞེས་ཁྱེད་ནོར་གྱི་འདོད་པ་དང་བྲལ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་། དེ་ནས་ཡོ་ག་ཁ་ཆེ་ལུགས་བཞག་ནས་རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་པའི་ལུགས་གཞུང་གདམས་ངག་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་ཉམས་ལེན་དང་བཤད་པ་བྱས་པས་ཡོ་གའི་བདག་པོར་གྱུར། དེའང་སྐྱུ་ཆེའི་སྟོད་ལ་ཁ་ཆེ་ལུགས། སྨད་ལ་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ལུགས་དར་བས་ཡོ་ག་ལ་བོད་འདིར་སྟོད་ལུགས་དང་སྨད་ལུགས་གཉིས་སུ་གྲགས་སོ།། དེ་ལ་སློབ་མའི་མཆོག་བཞི་བྱུང་བ་ནི། ལོ་ཆུང་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ། གྲུ་པ་གཞོན་ནུ་ཤེས་རབ། ཀྱི་ནོར(1)་ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་ཕྱུག། གར(2)་ཤེང་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས་གྲགས་སོ།།

Rgyal-rabs, folio 142a2

ཛེ་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན་གྱི་ཆེན་མའི་སྲས། སྐྱིད་དེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་གྱིས། མངའ་རིས(3)་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛད། པུ་རངས་ཀྱི་ལའང་དབང་བསྒྱུར། དེ་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ། ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་གྱིས་མར་ཡུལ་བཟུང་། འདི་ནས་ཇོ་བོ་རས་ཆེན་གྱི་བར་དུ་

(1) Correct skyi-nor as in Deb-ther.
(2) Xil.: guṅ, but it is necessary to read gur as in Deb-ther.
(3) Ms.: rigs.

རྒྱུད། བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་གྱི་པུ་རངས་བཟུང་། ཆུང་བ་ལྡེ་གཙུག་མགོན་གྱིས(1)་ཞང་ཞུང་བཟུང་། འདི་གསུམ་ལས་སྟོད་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་མགོན་གསུམ་ཟེར། ལྡེ་གཙུག་མགོན་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ། འཁོར་རེ་དང་། སྲོང་ངེ་དང་ལྷ་ཚེ(2)་སྲིད་ལ་བཙུན་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པས། སྲས་གཉིས་འཁྲུངས་པའི་ནཱ་ག་ར་ཙ་དང་། དེ་བ་ར་ཙའོ། ལྷ་ཚེ་སྲིད་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས། ལྷ་བླ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ། མཐོ་ལྡིང(3)་དཔལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། རྟོག་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བློ་རྣོ་བ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙམ་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་ཆོས་སློབ་པ་ལ་བཏངས། པཎྜི་ཏ་ཤྲི་དྷཱ་ཀ་ར(4)་དང་། ཝར་མ(5)་ཏ་གཉིས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པ་དང་། རྒྱུད་སྡེ་བཞི་པོ་སྒྱུར་ཞིང་བཤད་ལ་ཕབ། འདུལ་བ་སྟོད་ལུགས་དར་བར་མཛད་དོ། ཆེན་པོ་འཁོར་དེས་ཁ་ཆར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་གཞེངས། དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ལྡེ་པོས། པཎྜི་ཏ་སུ་བྷཱ་ཥི(6)་ཏ་དང་། པཎྜི་ཏ་སྨྲྀ་ཏི་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ལྷ་ལྡེ་པོ་ལ་སྲས་འཁྲུངས་པ། ཆེ་བ་ཞི་བ་འོད། འབྲིང་ལྷ་བླ་མ་བྱང་འོད། ཆུང་འོད་ལྡེའོ། འདི་གསུམ་གྱི་དུས་སུ། ལྷ་བླ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱིས། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས། རྒྱ་གར་དུ་པཎྜི་ཏ་གདན་འདྲེན་བྱོན་པས། ལམ་དུ་མུ་སྟེགས་པའི་དམག་གིས་བཟུང་། ··· བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ལྗོངས་འདིར། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་ལྟ་བུར་མཛད་པ་ན། ལྷ་བླ་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་དེ། བོད་

(1) Ms.: gyi.
(2) Thus mss.: but the text seems to be corrupt.
(3) Ms.: mthon ldiṅ.
(4) Thus mss.: correct śrad-dhā-ka-ra.
(5) Namely: Pad-mā-ka-ra-var-ma.
(6) Mss.: śid.

A TAN KAPUJA BUDDHISTA FŐISKOLA KÖNYVTÁR

ལ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་བ་ལེགས་སོ། ལྷ་བླ་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ཀྱི་བཙུན་པོ་འོད་ལྡེས། པཎྜི་ཏ་ཁ་ཆེ་ཛྙ་ན་ཤྲཱི་སྤྱན་དྲངས.། དེའི་སྲས་བཙན་སྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་བྷ་ལེ། དེ་ནས་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་དུ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། བྷ་རེ། ནཱ་ག་ལྡེ་རྣམས་བྱུང་བ། འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གུ་གེ། སྤུ་རངས། མར་ཡུལ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་དབང་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཡང་ནཱ་ག་ལྡེའི་སྲས། བཙན་ཕྱུག་ལྡེ། ཡ་རྩེར་བྱོན་དེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛད། འདེའི་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་གྲགས་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་གྲགས་པ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་ཤོག་ལྡེ། ཨ་དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་སོག་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་ཛི་དར་སྨལ་དང་། ཨ་ནན་ད་སྨལ་གཉིས་སོ། ཨ་ནན་ད་སྨལ་གྱི་སྲས། ར་ཕུལ་སྨལ་གྱིས་ལྷ་སར། ཇོ་བོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དབུ་གོག་དུ། གསེར་ཐོག་ཕུལ། དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས། སང་གྷ་སྨལ་དང་། འཇི་ཐར་སྨལ་གཉིས་སོ། ཐར(1)་སྨལ་གྱི་སྲས། ཨ་ཛི་སྨལ། དེའི་སྲས་ཀ་ལན་སྨལ། དེ་ནས་ཡ་རྩེའི(2)་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་ཆད་ནས། སྤུ་རངས་ནས། མངའ་བདག་བསོད་རྣམས་ལྡེ། ཡ་རྩེར་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། རྒྱལ་ས་བཟུང་། པུ་ཎྱ་སྨལ་བྱ་བར་མཚན་དགས། དེའི་སྲས་པྲི་ཐི་སྨལ་དང་། བློན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྡན་གྲགས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་སར་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཞལ་གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་གསེར་ཐོག་ཕུལ།

(1) Mss.: *at'ar.*
(2) Mss.: *ya ts'ei.*

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HOPP FERENC KÖNYVTÁR

TIBETAN TEXT OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF RIN-CHEN-BZAN-PO

༄༅། །བླམ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་ཤེལ་གྱི་འཕྲེང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།།

གཅིག

༄༅། །ན་མོ་རཏྣ་གུ་རུ་བྷ་དྲཱ་ཡ། བླམ་ཡོན་ཏན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་
བཟང་པོ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྟན་པ་གསལ་མཛད་རིན་ཆེན་
བཟང་། །བླ་མེད་ལ་གུས་པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །ཞལ་གྱི་འབྲི་ནེ་རྗེས་སུ་དྲན་ཕྱིར་
དང་། །དད་པའི་སྨྲ་སྟྲོལ་བ་དང་། །ཞལ་ནས་གསུང་བ་ཐོས་པའི་ཕྱིར། །
སྐྱེས་མཆོག་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ཡི། །རྣམ་ཐར་མདོ་ཙམ་བྲི་བར་བྱ། །དེ་ལ་བྱང་

༄༅། །ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་དེའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ཕྱུང་བྱུང་བརྗོད་པ
ལ་དོན་བཅུ་སྟེ། སྐྱེས་བུ་ཆེན་པོ་དེའི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་གང་ཡིན་པ་དང་གཅིག །སྐུ
གང་དུ་འཁྲུངས་པ་དང་གཉིས། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ག་དུས་མཛད་པ་དང་གསུམ
བླ་མ་དང་མཁན་པོ་གང་ལས་ཆོས་ཞུས་པ་དང་བཞི། དམ་ཆོས་ཇི་སྐད་
བསྒྱུར་བ་དང་ལྔ། གནས་གཞི་དང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཇི་ལྟར་བཞེངས་པ་དང་

དྲུག །× ཡུལ་ཇི་ལྟ་བུ་གཅིག་ཇི་ལྟར་མཆོད་པ་དང་བརྒྱད། ཐུབ་པ་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་གང་དུ་མཛད་པ་དང་དགུ། གདམས་ང
ག་དབྱིངས་སུ་གཤེགས་པ་དང་བཅུ་པོ། །དེ་ལ་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཡབ་ཡུལ་ནི་གུ་གེ་པུ་རེངས་ཡིན། རིགས་ནི་
བྲི་འི་ག་ཡུ་སྙ་ཡིན། ཡབ་ལ་ནི་ཞང་ཉི་མ་གཞོན་ནུ་ཀྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཡིན། ཕྱུགས་ཡུལ་ཕུར་ཚོགས་ཏེ། ཁང་པོ་ཀུན་དང་འབྲེལ་བས་ཀླུ་ནོར
ཚ་ཞེས་ཀུན་བྱ་བོ། །དེ་ཡང་ཡབ་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཞོན་ནུ་སྔོན་བྱུང་གི་མཆོད་པའི་ཡུལ་ན་སྐུ་ཕྱག་དང་དད་ཞུ་སོ། །ཡབ་ཀྱི
མཚན་ནི་ཞང་ཆེན་པོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཅེས་བྱ་བོ། །ཡུམ་གྱི་མཚན་ནི་ཙོ་མོ་ཀུན་བཟང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལྷ་
མ་ཅེས་བྱ་བོ། །དེ་ལ་སྲས་ལྔ་མ་སྲིང་བཞི་འཁྲུངས་ཏེ། དེ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཚན་ནི། གཙུག་ལག་པར་དབང་ཕྱུག ཁ་ང་སྤེལ

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༄༅། །ཆེན་དབང་ཕྱུག །གཞུང་ཡོན་ཏན་དབང་ཕྱུག །ལྷ་མོ་ཀུན་སྐྱིད་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་མཆོ་མོ་ཞེས་བྱའོ། །སྲས་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ནི་གང་
རིན་ཆེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་གོ། །ཞེས་པར་བ་དབང་ཕྱུག་ག་གེས་ཁྲིམ་བདེ་ཀུན་བཟུང་ངོ་། །གཞུང་ཡོན་ཏན་དབང་ཕྱུག་ནི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་
ནས་གྲགས་པ་ཅ་མ་ཀུང་ཏུ་ལས་ཞུགས་སོ། །ལྷ་མོ་ནི་ཐུགས་ལ་བསམ་བས་ཏེ་སྒྲུབ་པ་བསྐྱེས་པའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་མ་མཆོག
གི་གྲོགས་ཞེས་བྱའོ། །བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཡུམ་གྱི་ལྷུམས་སུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཚེ། ཡུམ་གྱི་རྨི་ལམ་ལ་ཞི་མཚན
མེ་དང་རྒྱན་དུ་བྲག་པ་གཡས་འཁྱིལ་མ། གཡོན་ལ་བུམ་པ། ཕྱི་གཙུག་ན་གསེར་གྱི་ཆུང་གཡུ་འི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཅིག །
དགུན་ལ་སྙན་པའི་སྒྲ་སྒྲ་ཚོགས་འབྱེད་ཅིང་། ཕར་ལྷབ་ལྷབ་བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་རྨིས་པ་ལ་ཐར་བྱུང་བའོ། །དེ་ནས་བཙས་པའི
དུས་ལ་བབ་པའི་ཚེ། གསེར་གྱི་ཁྲི་ཆུང་དེ་ཡུམ་གྱི་སྤྱི་གཙུག་ཏུ་ཐིམ་ནས། གསང་བའི་གནས་ནས་ཐོན་པ་བྱུང་ནས

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ཡུམ་ཆ་ལན་གསུམ་སྐོར་བ་བྱས་ནས། ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་བསྐྱོད་ཅིང་འགྲོ་བ་ཞིག་རྨིས་སོ། །དེའི་ལོ་ངེས་པར་ཟླ་བ་
ཚེས་ལ་ཉལ་བ་ལྷ། ཁྱེའུ་ཁྲི་ཁང་ནང་ན་མི་ཞིག་བྱ་བ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཕྱུར་མ་མཛེས་པ་ཅང་ཡོད་པ་ལ། ཡུམ་རྒྱུ་ངན་དཔག་ཁྱིམ་
ལོག་ནས། ཞིང་གཉའ་ལ་རྒྱུགས་བས། ཡུམ་གྱིས་ཕྱུང་བ་གཡས་ལག་རྣ་བ་གཅིག་གཡོན་ལ་ཁྲ་བྱས་ཁྱུ་ཅིག །སྐྱེ
གཙུག་ཏུ་ཅོ་ཅོ་གཉེས་བབས་བྱུང་བས། ཡབ་ཀྱིས་འདི་འདྲ་བ་བདུད་ལ་ཐང་ལ་གསུངས་པས། གསུང་པ
ཕྱུལ་བ་ཕྱིམ་ལོང་ངོ་། །དེ་ནས་ཁྱིའུ་མདོག་རྒྱ་བ་འི་མདོ་ངང་པ་དང་མཛེས་འདུག །ཕྱག་གཡས་པ་འི་མཐིལ་ན་ཆོས
ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཡོད་པ་ཅིག་བལྟ་མས་སོ། །ཞབས་ལ་གཉིས་ལ་ཡན་པ་དང་ཞབས་ནས་ཨ་ཨཱ་ཨི་ཨུ་ཞེས་གསུ་ཟེར
ཐལ་ལ་མོ་ལྷ་རྗེ་བཤད་པ་རང་དགོ། །ཡབ་ན་རེ་ལས་འགྲོ་ཅིག་ཞིག་འདུག་གསུང་ཞིང་། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་དགོངས་ནས་ཤ

༄༅། །ཁ་བ་ཅན་ལ་ཡང་ལེ་ར་པོ་གསོལ་ཏེ་དགེ་བསྙེན་དུ་མཛད་དོ།། གཉིས་པ་འབྲུག་ལོ་པ་ཡིས་ཀ་ཡུ་སྒྲ་སྙིང་
སྡུད་ཀྱིས། མཆོད་པའི་ཞིང་སྐྱོང་ཡང་རྫོང་ཞི་བ་འཕྲུལ་པ་ཡི་ནོར།། གསུམ་པ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ནི། མ་ར་ར་པོ་ཡི་གཡག
ཁ་ཁ་ཟང་པོ་ལས། དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་གསུམ་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་མཛད་དོ།། མཚན་ཡང་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་སུ
གྲགས་སོ། སུམ་བརྒྱ་པ་འགྲེལ་པ་དང་། རྩོལ་པ་སྦྱངས་པས་སུ་ཆུད་དོ།། བཞི་པ་མ་ཁ་འགྲོ་མས་ལུང་
བསྟན་པ་ནི། དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལོན་ཙམ་ན། ཨོ་རྒྱན་ནས་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན་ [illegible] ། རྡོ་རྗེ་གསེར་ལ་ཡི་གེས་
གདན་ཆུང་བླུགས་ཏེ་བཟའ་བཏུང་ལ་པའི་ཞལ་དུ། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཤ་བུ་གཅིག་ལྷུང་སྟེ་ངས། བྱིས་ར་ཁོང་གིས
གཟིགས་པས། ཁོང་གི་དགོངས་པ་ལ་རྒྱ་བ་སུམ་བཅུའི་ཚ་ན། གདོང་ངག་ཁྲུང་པ་ཆ་ར་འདུག་པ

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ཤུགས་ཡོད་དེ། རྒྱ་ཡི་གཞི་མི་ཤེས་དགོངས་ཤིང་། ཡུལ་འོག་མ་ར་ཤིང་ཀྱི་བསོལ་གྱི་བ་ལ་བཞུག་ལ་སྐྱ
ཚེ། མཐའ་དུ་སོང་བའི་མཐའ་ལམ་དུ། བུད་མེད་ཤ་རྩེ་དམར་པོ་འི་ཞུ་པོ་ཆེའི་རྫོང་པ་ཅི་དང་། དེ་ཤིང་
དང་དར་དཔྱངས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱན་པ། ལག་ན་གཡས་པ་ན་མ་ཏྲ་ཐོགས་པ། གཡོན་པ་ན་མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱ་ར་ཁ་བ
ཐོགས་ཏེ། མདུན་དུ་འོངས་ནས་འདི་སྐད་ཟེར་རོ། །ཁྱེད་བུ་འི་ཁ་རྒྱུ་དང་འདུལ་བ་ཚིང་ལ་ [illegible] ཝན
ཡུལ་ལ་ཞེན་པས་བདུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་རུ་ཆུད། །བདུད་འགྲོ་ཐར་པོ་འདོད་པའི་མི་སུ་ཡོད། །ཁྱད་ཕྱོགས་ཁ་ཆེའི
ཡུལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ཀྱང་། །རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ནུབ་བརྒྱུ་བ་ཞིན་བྱ་ཀ་ལན་ནི། །ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བོ་དང་དུ་མཇལ་
ན་བདེ། །ཞེས་པའི་སྒྲ་སྒྲས་མི་སྣང་བར་གྱུར་ཏེ། །མཐའ་ལ་དཔལ་དང་ལུས་ལ་ཚད་དུ་ལ་ནས

༄༅། །ཁྱུ་ར་ཞུགས་པ་བསྟན་སོང་དོ། །ཞེས་ལུང་བསྟན་ཐོས་པས་སྐྱེ་བའི་སྟོན་ནས་ཁ་ཆེའི་དུ་འགོད་དོ།། དེ་ནས
ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལ་མ་ཁའ་འགྲོ་མས་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་ར་འདུག །ད་ཁ་ཆེ་དང་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་འགྲོ་དགོས། ཕྱོགས་ཚོས
ཀྱི་བར་གཅོད་ཏུ་འགྲོ་ཞིང་། ཕྱིན་ནས་རྒྱུས་ཀྱང་མེད་ཙང་། ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་དཀའ་ཀ་བ།
དང་ལ་བག་ཆགས་དྲན་པ་གསོག་པར་འདུག །ཉེ་སྐོར་བུ་དགོང་ནས་ཐར་འཁོར་ཞིང་བཞུགས་པ་ལས།
ཡུམ་གྱིས་གསུངས་ཀྱི་གདོང་ལ་བལྟས་པས། ཤེད་ཆུ་ནག་པོ་མཐོང་ནས། བཅའ་མཆི་སྤྲང་ནག་ཅིག
ཡང་ལྷ་ར་གྱི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མའི་ལུང་བསྟན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྣམས་བཤད་ནས། །ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་དང་མི་རྣམས་
ལྷ་རྣམས་གྲོས་བྱས་ཏེ། ཡ་བ་རེ་བུ་འདི་ཁ་ཆེ་ར་མཁས་ཀྱང་ཐོས་དང་གསུམ་གེ་བར་ཆད་དུ་འགྲོ་ནང་ར་འདུག །

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ཟང་ཟིང་ནོར་རྫས་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱོང་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་ཞུགས་ནང་ལ་མགོ་དང་བ་ལས་ལ་འོན་ཀྱང་བུ་ཆུང་ཡང་ལས་
འ་སྐལ་ཅན་ཀྱུང་ཁ་ཆེ་ཆ་མས་ཏེ། ཁ་ཆེ་ར་ག་ཤེས་ལ་པ་ར་བྱས་ན་འདང་། ཁ་ཆེ་ནས་ལོག་པ་དང་རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་
ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཞེག་མི་འགྲོ་བར་བྱ་སྟེ། དེ་ལྟར་དགུང་ལོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ལ་ཕ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་རིན་ཐང་ཀྱི་ཕ་སྒྲུ་མོ་དང་དགེ
བསྙེན་ཞིག་ལ་གྲོགས་བཅོལ་ཏེ། ལམ་ཆས་ཕྱོགས་ན་དུ་གབ་རྒྱ་ཚམ་དང་དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྫས་ཚིར་ནི་དང་།
ཡུམ་གྱིས་ཞེམ་པའི་ཟས་སྣ་དང་ན་བཟའ་བཏག་རྒྱ་ལ་ཙམ་དང་ཆས་ཏེ། ཨུ་རྒྱན་མཚན་པ་བཅས་རྒྱ་ལ་པ་གཅིག
དང་གསུམ་འགྲིགས་པས། ཡུམ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་སྐྱེལ་མ་མཛད་དེ་བཞར་ཕྱིར་ཕྱིན། དེ་ནས་ཡུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་ཕུལ་ནས
གར་ཞལ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ཕྱིན་དགེ་སྨོན་ལམ་མཛད་ཅིང་བ་ཤིག་སོ། །དེ་ནས་བླ་མ་གཅིག་དང་ཞག་གསུམ་གྱི་བ་ལྷ

༄༅། །ཀ་རེ་ཀ་བྲ་བུའི་གྲོང་དུ་སླེབས་པས། གྲོགས་པོ་ཆུང་ཏེ་བ་ལམ་ལ་ཆོ་རན་ས་འགྲོ་རམ་པ་དེ་དུ་དོ།།
དེ་ནས་ཡར་ངེ་རྫེ་འབངས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱོད་ནས། ཟག་ཀ་སུམ་ཅུ་ལམ་ཏུ་མཐད་ལ་ངང་ག་ལ་བུ་བའི་ཐམ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཞིག་ལམ
འཛོམ་པའི་ལམ་སྲུང་བགྲོད་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་ལ། འགྲོ་མ་བླ་བ་ཅུ་ཙམ་བྱེད་ནས། ཐུབ་གཅིག་དེར་གཟིམས་སོ། །ལང་སྤྱོམ་
ནས་ཐམ་པ་བཟུང་དེ་ལ་ཙ་ཀ་ཀི་གསུམ་གཉིས་ཙམ་ཚིགས་པ་དང་། ཁ་བོ་ནང་དུ་གཅིག་གིས་ཟིན་ཏེ་ཤི་ལ་ཐུག་གོ །རང་
ཉིད་ཀྱང་ཐུགས་སྨྲ་བ་དང་དབང་པོ་གསལ་གྱིས་མཐའ་ཏུ་ལོང་བའི་ཚེ། མི་ལམ་དུ་ཕྱུར་གྱི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མང་བྱོན་ནས།
ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཞིག ཁ་པོ་ལ་སྨད་ངན་ཐམ་པ་ནི་ཆེས་པས་མི་དགའ་བའི་གནོད་སྦྱིན་མ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ནས་དེ་ ཟས་གཙང་
བྱས་མལ་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བདག་གིས་དེ་བཟློག་ཡོད་པས། ནང་པ་ཡང་བསྐུར་དུ་སོང་སོང་བ་ཡོད་དོ། །འདིར་རྩག་པ་སྤུར

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་ཡོང་བར་འདུག་ནས་ལམ་ལོ་ཀ་པ་ཞིག་ཏུ་སོང་ལ་དཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བསྐོར་ཅི་གཟེར་བ་དང་། དེས་ཐག
རེ་ཞིང་ནས་ནང་ཕྲུག་གིས་ཁྲིད་དེ་གཏོར་མ་བཏང་ཅིང་། ས་ཀ་ར་ཞིབ་བཅུ་ཙམ་ཕྱིན་ཏེ། ལམ་གར་གཟིགས་སམ་
སྐུར་ཞུ་ཡུལ་དུ་རྫ་གུ་བ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་མཆོད་བསྐོར་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་བ་དཔག་ཏེ། དཀོན་མཆོག་དང་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་རྣམ་ལྟ་བས
ཀྱིས། རང་རེ་གཉིས་མ་མཐོང་བར་ཡ་མདུང་བོར་སོང་ངོ་། །དེ་ནས་ནང་པ་ཡང་ཁམས་སོས་ཏེ། ཟངས་པའི་འཇིགས་པ་དང་
བྲལ་ཏེ་དངུལ་བསོད་ཏེ་དགའ་སྤྲོ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱིས་ལོ་ཟླ་བ་དེ་ཀ་ལ་བཞུགས། དེ་མ་གསུམ་ཙམ་གསོལ་ཆས་ཆང
སེམས་འཕེལ་ཞིང་། ཐགས་གསོལ་བ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་བཅག་ནས་མར་ཕྱིན་པས་ཟན་མོ་མ་སྐྱིད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བྲགས། ཁྱུར་རེ་རེ་ཁྱུར
བ་དང་བུད་ཕྱུང་བས། ཕྱག་བཟེད་དེ་སྒོང་བའི་བཟའ་མཛད་ལས་བུ་བཞི་ལྷ་ཙམ་དུ་ལ་ལོ། །ཉེས་པ་ལ་ཏེ་གསོལ་སྨྲ

༄༅། །ཁམས་སོས་པ་རྒྱུར་ཏོ། །དེ་ནས་སྐྱ་རྒྱུ་ཙམ་ཞིང་ཕྱུག་ཡང་གོང་ལ་ཡ། ཟན་མོ་མ་སྐྱིད་གཉིས་ནི་མ་
དངུལ་སྲང་མོའི་དོད་དུ་ཕྱིན་པས། ཕྱིན་པ་ན་དུ་ཆེན་ཤི་དམ་ཆོད་ཏེ། སྐུ་ཙམ་བཏབ་དགེ་ལ་སྨྲ་མ་ནས། ཟན་མོ་ལ་ཁྱེད་
ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་མོ་ནི་ཀ་དུམ་ཅིག་སྐྱིད་བའི་བཟའ་མཛད་པས། ཟན་མོས་ཤེལ་ཏུ་སེམས་དཀར་ནས། ཁྱེད་ལ་དགོས
ན་ཆེད་ཅིག་པའི་བཟའ་བྱུང་ངོ་། །ངས་ཆོས་ཐུགས་ཆགས་བ་སོའི་ཕྱག་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོད་གདང་བ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པས
ཞིང་ལ་བསྟན། གཞན་ཡང་མཆོད་རྟེན་སྟུ་གསལ་པའི་དཔེ་བསྟན་ནས། འདི་རྣམས་བའི་ཕྱག་བཟའ་ལ་མཛད་ལས
ཟན་མོ་དགའ་ནས་སྐུའི་སྐྱེ་ནས་དུམ་ཅིག་བཅུད་དེ་སྤུལ་ཞུས། ཕྱག་ཀྱང་ཕུལ་ནས་ལྷ་ཕྱུག་སྤྱི་ལག་པ་བཟུང་ངས་འདི་ཀུང
པ་དང་ཁྲུང་མེད་བྱས་སོ།། །སྐྱེ་མ་ཆེམ་ཕྱུང་སྟེ་སོང་ངོ་། །རང་ཡང་སྐྱིང་རྗེ་སྐྱེས་ཏེ་སྐྱེན་ཆམ་ཕྱིར་གསུང་ངོ་། །ཕྱོག

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པ་ཆེར་ཟན་མོའི་དོན་དུ་སྤྱི་གནས་མཆོད་རྟེན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བཏབ་གསུང་། དེ་ནས་ཉིན་ཕྱེད་ཙམ་ཏ་ཁ་ཆེའི་ཡུལ་ ཟམ
ནས་ཐམ་ཟེའི་གྲོང་བ་དུ་ན་པ་ཞིག་ཏུ་སླེབས་ཏེ། དེར་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ཙམ་བཞུགས་ཏེ། ཕུ་ལ་སྐད་ཁ་ནུ་ཙམ་སྦྱང་ངས
སོ། །དེ་ནས་ཀ་ལ་ཅག་ཏེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་དུ་ཕེབས་སོ།། དེ་རྒྱུས་ཞི་གཉི་མཐའ་ལམ་དུ་ཕྱིན་དུ་ཞག
ན ། རྒྱལ་འབྱོར་པ་ལོ་ཀི་འཆམ་ཕྱུགས་ལ་ཡོད་པ་གཅིག་གིས། མི་རང་སྤྱང་བུ་འབུད་པ་གཅིག་དང་ལྷན
པས་མི་རང་དེ་བདག་གི་མགོ་ལ་ལན་གསུམ་སོར་ཏེ་རྒྱ་བཞུས། ནག་ལ་གཞལ་བ་ཏུ་གར་གཤེག་ལ་ཚ་མེད་དོ། །ཤེས
ནི་གྲུབ་པ་བསྐྱེས་པའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྟུལ་ཞུགས་སྤྱོད། །སྤྱན་པ་ཡིན་ཆེན་ལྷ་བཙས་བྱ་བའོ།། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཁ་བ་ལྷ་ན
ཀྱིས་ལྡན་བས་ཏུ་ག་བཤགས་ཕར་འདུག་སྐྱེ། ཁ་ཆེས་ཞལ་ལམ་མཆོར་བས་འགྲོ་བ་དུག་པོ་སྐྱེས་གསུང་ངས་སོ། །དེ་ནས

༧༠། །ཁྱང་ཞིག་ཡར་བྱོན་པས་སྤྱན་གཟུགས་མ་གཅིག་དང་ཕྲད་པས། ནགས་གསེབ་ན་མི་རྐྱང་གྲིང་བུ་སྒྲ
གྲུང་བས་སྐྲག་དེ་ལོག་སྟེ་གཟུར་ནས་སོང་སྟེ། དེ་བརྟའི་ཀྱིན་བརླབས་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་ནས་མོས་གུས་དྲག་པོ
སྐྱེས་གསུངས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་ཕར་བྱོན་པ་དང་ཆོད་པ་མང་པོ་དང་ཕྲད་དེ་བསོད་སྙོམས་མཛད་དེ། འབྲས་མང་པོ་བྱུང
བྱུང་ངོ་། །ཞུ་བ་གཅིག་ཆོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྩར་གཉིམ་ལ་ནས། སྤྲུལ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ལོག་ལས་པར་དྲིལ་ཏེ། ཉི་མ་དྲོས་ཀྱི་བར
དུ་བྱེན་ནས། ཁ་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་ལ་པ་ཏ་བུ་བའི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་དུ་སླེབ་པ་དང་། ཐོག་མར་ཁྱ་ཆེའི་ཁྲིམས་པ་རྣམས
འཛུལ་ཏེ། བར་ཡ་ཤུས་ནས། རྒྱ་ངར་མེད་པའི་ལུས་པོའི་རྐང་ལུགས་འདི་ཞིབ་པར་བའི་མི་གཅིག་ལྷོས
དང་ཟེར་ནས། གཞན་དག་ཉིད་དུ་བྱུང་ངོ་། །དེ་ནས་ཁྱིམ་པ་རྣ་དཔོན་གཅིག་ཏུ་གནས་གཡར་ཏེ། ཞག་འགའ

དེར་བཞུགས་པ་བཀའ་དེར་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཞག་གཅིག་གྲོང་གི་དབུས་སུ་བསོད་སྙོམས་ལ་བྱོན་པས། བྲམ་ཟེ་ནད་པོ་གཅིག
དང་ཕྲད་དེ། དེས་ཕྱག་གི་རི་མོ་མཐོང་བས། བྲམ་ཟེ་ཙ་མ་ཟེར་བར་ཁྱིམ་དུ་སོང་སྟེ། དངུལ་གྱི་སྒྲོལ་ཕོར་གཅིག་ཏུ་མེ་ཏོག་གི་
སྤྲས་ནས་བསུ་ལ་ནས། ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལ་ཏ་ཐུབ་ནས་བྱུང་ནས། ཤེས་པ་བརྗོད་དེ་ཁྱེད་ཆོས་ཏུ་མཛད། །ཆོས་
ཟབ་གསལ་པའི་ལས་ཅན་ཞིག་སྟེ། ཆོས་འདི་ལ་ཡང་ཆོས་མང་པོ་ཤེས་ཏེ། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཕན་མང་པོ་ཐོགས་པ་འདུག
ཟེར་ནས་ཕྱུང་བསྟན་བྱེད་དོ། །དེ་ནས་ཉང་འགྲོགས་ཀྱི་གདམས་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ་འཕེལ་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་གཞི་གསོལ། །དེ་ན
གསེར་གྱིས་ཚམ་གོ་ཡང་ལམ་པས་སྐར་མ་རྣམས་ཀུན་ལ་ཞལ་བབས་ཏེ་མི་དང་མཉམ་དུ་འདོད་པ་ལྟར་བྱུང་ངོ་། །དེ་ནས
གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ཏ་མ་ལ་ལས་ཏེ་ར་བྱོན་ཏེ། པཎྜི་ཏ་ཆེན་པོ་ཏ་ཀ་ར་ཤ་ར་མ་དང་མཇལ་ཏེ། ཆོས་ཞུ་བར་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས

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༧༡། །གཞན་ནས་ལོ་གཉིས་སུ་ཡོ་ག་འི་རྒྱུད་བཀླུ་བ་ཐབས་ལ་སོགས་པ་དུ་མ་གསན་ནོ། །པཎྜི་ཏ་བ་ཞིག་ལ
ཡང་ཆོས་མང་དུ་གསན་ཅིང་ཐུགས་སྦྱང་མཛད་དོ། །དེ་ནས་ཡུལ་འཁོར་བྱོན་འདོད་པས་ན། །རྒྱ་ལམ་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་མི
གཉིས་གིས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གླིང་ན་ཤྲཱི་ས་རི་ན་པོ་ཆེ་མང་པོ་རྙེད་དོ། །ཡིད་བཞིན་གྱི་ནོར་བུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཞིག་ལུས་སུ་སྦྱུག
འདུག་ཏེ། དེའི་རྗེ་བཙུན་ཆེན་པོ་ནཱ་རོ་པའི་ཕྱག་ན་ཡོད་ཟེར་བ་དང་མཇལ་ས་དང་། །པཎྜི་ཏ་ཏ་ཀ་ར་ཤ་ར་ལ་མ་རྒྱུས
ཞུས་པས། །ཏ་ཀ་ར་འབྲལ་ནས། དེ་ལྟར་ཡིན་ན་རྗེ་བཙུན་ཆེན་པོ་ནཱ་རོ་པའི་དྲུང་དུ་འགྲོ་དགོས་གསུངས། ཁོད་ཀྱིས་ཆེ
གཅིག་གི་ཡུལ་པ་ལས་ངེས་རྒྱལ་པའི་གདུགས་ཏུ་མཁྱེན་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་། བླ་མའི་བཀའ་བྱུང་མ་ཐག་དོན
གྲུབ་ཀྱི་དང་པོ་བླ་མའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་ཡིན། །ཁས་ལ་ཆུ་ལམ་ཡང་ཟབ་ནང་བས་མ་ནས། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཕུལ་ཏེ

རི་དཔལ་གྱི་མེ་ཏོག །བཀྲ་ཤིས་པའི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་དུ་བྱོན་ཏེ། །རྗེ་ནཱ་རོ་པ་དང་མཇལ་ནས། བྱིན་བརླབས་དང་གདམས་
ངག་ཞུ་བར་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས་གནང་ནས། །ལྷན་ཅིག་སྐྱེས་པ་ཟབ་མོ་སྦྱོར་བ་དྲུག་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་དབྱལ་བའི
དེ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གདམས་ངག་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆོས་སྐོར་དང་བྱིན་རླབས་མང་དུ་གསན་ནོ། །དེ
ནས་གདམས་པ་རྣམས་ཚར་བ་དང་། བླ་མ་ལ་ཕྱག་ཕུལ་ནས། ཕར་བྱོན་པའི་ལམ་དུ་པཎྜི་ཏ་མ་ལ
ཀ་ཏ་དང་མཇལ་ནས། གདམས་ངག་མང་དུ་གསན་ནོ། །ཕར་ཡུལ་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ལོ་ཟླ་མཐའ་ཅན། མཁའ
འགྲོ་མ་གསེར་གྱི་འོད་ཟེར་ཅན་གྱི་སྐུ་བ་ཐབས་ཟབ་མོ་གཅིག་ཡོད་པས། པཎྜི་ཏ་དེས་ བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་སོ།
ཕར་གྱི་ལུང་སྟོན་པའི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་དེ་མ་དང་ཕྲད་མོའི་རྒྱ་ལ་དུ་གྲོགས་བྱེད་དོ། །དེ་ནས་ཁ་ཆེར་ལོ

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༄༅། །ཙམྨ་སེང་རྒྱལ་བས་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ནོ་བཟང་ད་དེ་ཡམ་དང་ཕྲད་དུ་འགྲོ་དགོས་དགོངས་ནས། །
གདམས་པ་དགའ་རྣམ་ཀྱི་སྒྲོ་ག་སེར་པོ་ལ་བྲིས་ནས། རྒྱ་འི་ལེ་ནུམ་མཛོད་ནས་ཕྱིན་པར་དགོངས་པ་ལས།
ལྷ་ར་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕྱུང་བསྐྱལ་ཕྱིན་དོ་བརྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ནུབ་རྒྱ་བཞིན་ཏུ་གས་ཟླ་ར་བདེ་དྲུབ་ནས། དཔེ་ཆ་རྣམས་པཎྜི་ཏའི་ཞབས་
ཏུ་བཞག་ནས། རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཕྱིན་ནོ། །ཁ་ཆེ་རས་བྱུང་ཞས་ནས་སྐད་བསྒྱུར་ལས་ཆོས་ཞུས་པའི་དོན་ལྷ་བ་
དྲུག་བརྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཕྱིན་པ་འི། རི་ཏ་འགྱུར་ཀྱི་དོན་སྤྱང་མཁྱེན་ནས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་མཁན་པོ་ཛེ་ཏ་མི་ཏྲ་
དང་། མཁན་པོ་ཨ་བྷ་ཡ། །མཁན་རྗེ་ཤྲཱི་བུདྡྷ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་། པཎྜི་ཏ་རྣམ་ལས་ཆོས་ཞུས་སོ། །
ཕྱི་ནང་གསུམ་དང་། ཡུམ་རྒྱས་འབྲིང་། ཉི་ཁྲི། བརྒྱད་སྟོང་པ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྐོར་ལ་སོགས་

པ་སོ་རྒྱུད་དང་། གདམས་ངག་དུམ་བུ་ཙམ་བསྒྱུར་རོ། །མཁན་པོ་དང་། པཎྜི་ཏ་འདི་དང་འདི་ནས་ཚོས་ལ་འདི་དང་འདི་
ཞུས་ལ་སོགས་པ་འཇུར་ཡིག་ཚོགས་ལ་འཛིན་ལ་ནམ་བྲིས། དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་ཁ་ཆེ་ར་འཁོར་ཕྱིན་རས། །
ཏཏ་ཀ་ར་འི་ཞབས་དཔེ་བླངས་དེ་ཕྱིན་པ་རྣམས་བསྒྲུམས། སྤྱིན་པ་རྣམ་ལ་ཏ་ཏ་ཀ་ར་འི་ཞབས་ཏུ་བཞག་གོ
རྒྱ་གར་དང་ཁ་ཆེ་འཁོར་བ་ལོ་བཅུ་སོང་སྐད། དེ་ནས་སྤུ་ཧྲང་དུ་ཞག་དྲུག་ལ་ཕྱིན་པས། ཡབ་ནུ་བོ་གཅིག་གི
ཕྱིན་པ་ག་ཤེགས་ནས་མི་གདའ་སྐད། རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཁ་ཆེ་ནས་ཡོག་མ་ཕྱིན་སྔ་མ་འབྲིད་
པ་སྐྱེས་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་ཡབ་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་ནོར་སྒྲོང་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བདུན་མཛད་སྐད། ཡབ་ཡུ་ཅུ་ངས་སུ་བཞུ
པའི་ཚེ། བོད་ཀྱི་དགེ་བ་ཞེས་གཅིག་འཛམ་གམ་འི་སྟེང་དུ་ཀྱི་ལམ་ཀུང་བྱས་ནས་སྤྱད་པ་གཅིག་བྱུང་བས་ཐམས་ཅད

༄༅། །སློབ་གསུམ་བྱེད་པའི་ཚེ། བླ་མ་ལོ་ཙྪ་བས་དགོངས་པ་མཛད་པ་ལ། བོད་ཀར་གྱི་ཚེ་འཕྲུལ་དུ་མ་ཁྱེན་
ནས། བླ་བ་གཅིག་སྒྲུབ་པ་མཛད་ནས་ཁོ་འི་རྩ་ར་ཕྱིན་ནས་ཕྱིགས་འཛུབ་གཅིག་བསྟན་པས་ས་ལ་ལྷུང་ནས་
སོང་ངོ་། དེ་ནས་ལོ་ཙྪ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་མོས་པར་གྱུར་ནས་བླ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་རྗེ་ཙན་གྱིས། པཎྜི་ཏ་བུདྡྷ་ཀ་ར་ཤྲཱི་
༡ མི་ཏྲ་དང་། པཎྜི་ཏ་སུ་བྷུ་ཏི་ལ་སོགས་པ་མཁས་པ་ཅུ་ན་དུ་མ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་སྦྱིན་པ་ལ། ཤར་ལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་
སོགས་པའི་ཆོས་དུ་མ་གསན་ཏིང་བསྒྱུར་རོ། །མདོར་ན་པཎྜི་ཏ་བདུན་ཅུ་རྩ་ལྔ་ནས་གསུང་ཆོས་མང་དུ་ཞུས་གསུང་
ངོ་། བརྒྱད་པའི་བླ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་བླ་མ་ཞི་བ་འོད་ཆེད་གཉན་པ་དང་། རྡོ་རྗེ་སློབ་དཔོན་མཛད་ནས། དགོན་གནས
ནུ་ཏ་ང་གི་གནས་གཞི་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བཞེངས་བར་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་བྱི་ཚེ

པོ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ཁྱེས་ཁ་ཆེ་ར་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་དུས་སོལ་བ་དང་། ས་སོ་རྣམ་ཆེན་པོ་ཀྱུ་རུ་སྐུ་བས་ར་ས་ལ
དཔའ་དཔལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྡེ་ཀྱིས། ཕོ་བྲང་གི་སྦྱིན་བདག་བསྟུ་གཏེར་བཞེངས་པ་དང་། དམར་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཀ་ར་མ་བཞེ
བ ། དེ་གསུམ་རྣམ་དག་ཞེ་ག་ཞིག་གཅིག་ལ་བཙུགས་པ་ཡིན་གསུང་ངོ་། །དེ་ལྷ་ར་མཛད་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་ནས་
པ་དང་དེའི་བར་ལ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སོང་བ་དང་། དེ་ནས་བླ་མ་ལོ་ཙྪ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྐུ་ཚེའི་ཞབས་ལ་སྤྱན་དངས་། ལོ་
འཁོགས་པའི་ཞེས་ར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ས་སྐྱ་ནས་ལ་ར་སྐྱ་ར་ལོ་ཀས་ཀོ། །དེ་ནས་སྐུ་ལྷ་དང་། ཡུལ་སྒྲུང་
མེད་པར་ས་སྐྱེ་བྲིང་བའི་ཚེ་ཡ། ཚེ་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བདུན་མཛད་དོ། །ཡུམ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་རྩ་དགུའི་
མེད་པའི་སྐུ་ཚེ་སྐྱེ་ངས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་ཡུ་རྒྱང་ལ་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཆར། ཀུ་ག་ཙི་ཚེ་སྒྲིང་། དམར་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཉ་རམ་དང་

༄༅། །དང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་པོ་བཀའ་འགྱུར་བཞུགས་པ་རབ་གནས་ཀྱང་ཞུས། གཅིག་ལ་མཛད་དོ། །
དེ་ནས་སོར་སྤུ་རྒྱལ་ས་པ་རྣམས་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་རབ་ཞུགས་པ་ཞིང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་པར་མཛད
དོ་ཞེར། སྒོ་གཟབ་འདི་ར་བཞུགས་ཞེར། དམར་ཡུལ་བ་ཡང་དེ་སྐད་ཟེར་བ་ལས། ལོ་ཙྪ་ཆེན་པོ་རང
ལ་ཞུས་པས། དེ་གསུམ་ལ་དངར་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱི་བདེ་ནི་གསུང་ངོ་སོ། །དེ་ནས་བཙུན་རྒྱལ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་དཔལ་གྱི
ཞལ་ནས། བླ་མ་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་གསན་ཡོད་པའི་དགེ་ཆ་རྣམས་ལ་ལེན་པ་དང་། སྐྱེ་བ་བཞི་བ
མཁས་པ་རྣམས་འདོན་པ་ལ་གྲོན་འཚལ་ཞུས་པས། ཕྱག་ས་པར་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་པ་ལ། བླ་བྱང་ཆུབ
སེམས་དཔའ་ཡིས། བླ་མ་ལ་ཇོ་བོ་ལ་ཧྲ་དང་སྣང་པོ་ཕུལ་བ་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་ནག་ཕྱག་དེབ་པས་མི་ཐར། །

གསེར་དང་དངུལ་ཕྱུལ་ནས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་མཐོང་། ཞེས་བཅའ་གྱི་ཕྱི་ན་ལྷ་ཁང་ནི་གནས་དང་། ཤྲ་ས་སྔུང་རྒྱ
བཅས་རྫོང་ལས་སུ་ཕུལ་ལོ། །བླ་མ་ལོ་ཙྪ་བའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལ། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ཅིང་། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་ལ་ད་
པ་འདི་ལས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ན། ཕམ་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དྲིན་ཡོད་པས། ཁ་ཆེ་ར་ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ཕྱིར་ཁྲིད་པ་
ཅན་གྱི་དོན་གཅིག་བཞེངས་དགོས་དགོངས་ནས། གསེར་སྐུ་ནི་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ཆུང་བ་བྱས་ཀྱིས་བཞེངས། །དེ་ནས་ཁ
ཆེ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་། རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས་རབ་ཏུ་མཛད་པ་ལ་ཞུས་སོ། །ལྷ་བཟོ་ཐམས་ཅད་པ་ཉི་ཧཱུ་ཀ་ཏ་
ལ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཚེ་ཉམས་པའི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྐུ་གཅིག་བཞེངས་ཤིང་། བརྟེན་དུ་གར་རབ་ཏུ་མཛད་པ་
གནས་པ་མཛད་ནས། གསེར་ཕྱག་ལྷ་སྐུ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལ་མཛད་དོ། །སྤྱིར་ལྷ་དང་ལྷ་བཟོའི་

༄༅། །སྤྱིར་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་སོ། །ཁྲ་ཆེ་ས་ཙ་ག་དང་བྲམ་ཟེ་ལ་ནི། མཁན་ཡོང་སྐྱ་དྲུག་ཅི་དེ་རེའི་འཁོར་ལོ་ས་
སྤྱན་དྲངས་སོ། །ཤར་ཡུལ་ནས་བླ་མ་རྩུ་གསུམ་པ་རྗེ་ཉིད་དང་བཅས་པས་ཁ་ཆེ་ལོ་ཕྲུར་དུ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་སོ། །དཔལ་ཡང་གོ
མཁན་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཁ་ཆེར་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མགོ་འདྲེན་དང་། ཆོས་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་རྣམས་ཞུ་བ་ལ་ལོ་
ཙྪ་བ་སྐྱེས། །དེ་ནས་ལྷ་བཟོ་བ་སུ་མ་ཏུ་ལོ་གཉིས་དང་བཅས་པས་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕེབས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་བླ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཞུས
ལོ་སྐྱུང་བ་གསང་ནས། ཞལ་མཇལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པས་ཞལ་མ་མཇལ་ལོ། །ཁ་ཆུང་ཆེ་དང་། དབོན་སྐྱོང་བས
ཞུས་ནས་ཁ་གོ་སྐྱོང་བ་མཛད་དོ། །དགུ་བཞི་བླ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་ལྷ་དང་། བླ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས
དཔའ་ལ་ཡང་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་ཕུལ་བས། གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་གི །ཕྱིས་ཡང་རྒྱུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་ལོ་གཅིག་ཁྲིད

གཏོར་མ་ལ་མདོ་མང་ལ་ཆགས་སུ། འདུས་ཆ་བརྒྱུད། །མདོར་ན་སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པའི་ཞ་
དོག་མཛད་དོ། །དེ་ནས་མཐའ་ཆེར་ག་ཁར་ཆུ་ཆུ་གལ་གས། ཁང་བ་ཞིག་དུ་གནས་ལ་བསམ། བསྟན་པ་ལོ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་
རྣམས་ཞིག་གཅིག་ལ་ལྕང་གཞི་མཆོད་པའི་སྐོར་རྒྱས་པས། བླ་མ་ལོ་ཙྪ་བའི་ཐུགས་ལ། རབ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི
སྐུ་གཞི་ཁ་ལ་རྒྱས་པ། ཕྱིས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྣམས་སྐོང་མཛད་པ་དགེ་འདུན་འདས་ཞིག་གཅིག་གི་སྟེང་ལ་
བྱས་པས། གཞན་སྐུ་ཚོན་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཕྱག་དེབ་རྒྱས་ནས། ལོ་ཙྪ་བས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་། །ཞེང་ཀས། གཞན་པ་ཞེ་ཀུན་
གྱིས་མ་ཐོང་བས། །ཁང་ལྷ་བཟོ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐང་དུ་བྲིས་ནས་བཞེངས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་ཡུལ་སྐྱུ་བྱུང་
ཡང་ཞེས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆུང་ཞིག་བཞེངས་པའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་མཛད་པས། སྤྱན་མཛར་བ་མི་དགྲ

༄༅། །བའི་གདུག་བཙན་གྱིས་སྲུག་ནོག་བྱེད་དགོས་ཚེ་ན། དཀར་ནག་རྒྱ་མ་ཤུར་ཏུ་ཕྱུགས་ཀ་དམ་མཛོད་ན་ཀ།
ཡོད་ཕྱུགས་ཀ་དམ་མཛོད་ནས། སོས་ཕྱུགས་དམ་ཐོན་ནས་སྒྲུ་ཕྱར་དུ་སོན་བྲིས་སྨན་བསྒྲུ་བའི་བྲི་སྤུ་གཅིག་ལ་
ཁབ་ལ་གསང་བ་འདུས་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བཞི་ལ་བྲིས། དབུས་སུ་ཧ་མ་ཀུ་དང་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་ལ་སྲུང་སྔགས་
མཛད་པས། དངོས་སུ་ཕོངས་ནས་སྐྱོབ་སྐྱིད་ཞུབ་ལོ། །དེ་ནས་སྙམ་མགོ་རྩ་བའི་ཞལ་ནས་ཡུ་གཞན་པ་བཞུ
ཡང་ཆོམ་ཧམ་ཧུང་ངས་པས་བྱིད་ནམས་མཐའ་ལ་སྒོ་ཅིག་གསུང་ནས། །ཡིད་བཞིན་དགའ་བ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་དྲུང་ནས
སྨན་མཛོད་ལམ་ཏི་འདི་མདུན་པོས་ཀྱི་ཕྱུང་ལོ་གཅིག་གཉིས་བཅད་བས་ཡོ་འདོམས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ། དེ་ནས
གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་དཔལ་གསང་བ་འདུས་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བཞེངས་སོ། །སྐུ་གསུང་ཕྱུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་མཆོད

ཚམ་དང་བཅས་པ་གསོལ། །ཁྲུད་ཁང་གི་རྟེན་བསོད་ཕྱུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁྲུད་གདང་པ་གཅིག་ལྷ་ཁང་ཆོས་གཞི་ཡོན་པ་བཞུ
བཞུགས་སོ། །ཁྲུད་ཆུང་གི་ཤིང་ལས་བཞེངས་པའི་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཀྱིས་བརྡེ་གཅིག་བཞུགས་སོ། །སྐུ་གདུང་རྟེན་རྒྱ་ནང་རྟེ
ཤིང་ཤུན་བརྒྱ་ཡི་ཏུ་གྲིས་པའི་གསུང་རྟེན་གཅིག་བཅས་ལ་བདུ་མས་བཞུགས་ཡོད་དོ། །འདི་ན་མོས་གཙུག་ལག
ཁང་ནས་མ་བཏོན་ཅིག་ག་ཏོན། ཀྱིས་མི་སྟེ་ལ་ན་པ་ལས་མ་བཏོན་ཅིག་གསུངས་ནས་ལྷ་ཧཱུྃ་ལ་མ་ཏི་བསྒྲུབས་
བསྒྲུབས་སོ། །གཞན་ཡང་སུ་ཕྲང་གི་བཞེངས་ཕྱིར། ཁ་ཚེ་བོ། ཁར། སྤྲ་ཏི། ཡེ་ར། ཏ་པོ། ཏེ་ར། ཟང་ཕྱང་། སྟེ་ཝ
ཏི་ཡང་། ཚང་ས་མེད། ཡི་ཏི། གཡང་སྐར་ར་ཏྲི། རྒྱ་ལ་བ་ར་པར། ཀྱི་ཤུ་ཡང་ཀ་འི་བར་དུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་
བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་བཞེངས་པའི་ཕྱ་མ། དྲལ་ཆུང་ན་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གསེར་ཅན་གཅིག་དང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་ཚང་ངོ། །ཅི

༄༅། །ཧ་ནུ་ཏ་ཏ་ར་ཏེ་རེ་ཧཱུྃ་ཀ་ཀྲོ། །གཞན་ཡང་དེ་དུང་ཆུ་དགུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མཁའ་འབྲེལ་ཆེར་མོ་ཀླུ་བཅས
བཞེངས་པའོ། །ཁྲུང་ངར་ཏུ་མཆོད་གཞིས་ཡོད་པ་འདི་ཡུལ་ར་ར་རུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མཆོག་པ་ཨེ་རེ
ཡོད་ཅིག །མཆོད་རྟེན་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་དོ། །མཆོག་བ་ཉམས་ལ་ཚོས་སྤྱོད་བསྟུ་རྒྱུ་མི་ཆད་དོ།
རིག་བཅའ་ན་གྱི་ཁྱིར་ཧཱུྃ་ནས། གཉིས་ནི་ཁ་ཆེ་ར་ཚད་པས་གྲོང་ལ། །དགུ་སུམ་ཡོད་བཞིན་ང་རྗེ་ལོ་རྩུ་བ
བ་དང་ཆུ་ཤིང་སྤང་ལ་རྩ་ཏེ་རྩ་བཏང་ངོ། །འཇིད་མོ་རྩ་པའི་ཆེན་གཞི་ནུ་དང་གསུམ་མོ། ཡང་ཐུམ་མོ་རྩ་སྐ
ཏི་པུ་ནས་ཆུ་སྤྲུལ་བཟེ་ཟ་སོ་པས་སྐྱེམ་དང་བཙུག་ནས་བསྐྱར་ཏོ། །སྤྱི་ཕྱར་གཞུགས་གསུམ་རྟེ་ལ་གྱི་ཏུ
ཁམ་བཅུ་ཅིག་གསུང་རབས་བཏང་བས། ཉི་གནས་ཀྱི་ལས་སུམ་ནམ་ཀྱིས་ཏུ་ཁ་ཕྲ་ནས་སྤྲུལ་པད་གྲོས་སུ

བཅུ་གཉིས། ཡང་ན་ཅིག །བསྒྲུབས་ནས་བཀའ་བས། འདི་ནི་ཁས་དགེ་བཤེས་གྲོས་སུ་ནུ་བཅུག་པ་
སྔང་གི་ཕྱུག་གསུ་རྟ་ལ་སྤྱིས་པ་ཁ་སྤྱི་ཅིག་བསྐྱུང་ས་པ་པ། གླུ་ཡི་གཉིས་གཉན་སྲུང་མས་ཀྱི་ལས་མ་ཀ
ནས། ཕྱི་ཏུ་ག་བཏང་ནས་བསྒྲུ་བཙུག་པས། སྙམ་མགོ་རྩ་བའི་ཞལ་ནས། འདི་ཁྲུད་ཀྱིས་ཡབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གི་མ
ཆེད་དུ། སེམས་ཅན་ན་བསོད་ནམས་ལ་ཡང་མ་གྲུབ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག །དྲན་ཉིད་དེ་གཅིག་གི་མགོ་མཆོ
ན། སྒྲིང་ཁྲིམ་བརྗེ་རྒྱ་གཙུག་ས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དབེན་མཆོད་ནུ་སྒོམ་པའི་ཞབ་ལས་མི་ཡོང་གསུང་།
གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱ་གར་ཏུ་ནག་དམ་ཆོས་སྤྱུར་དང་ས་ནམ་ས་ཆོས་དེ་ལ་དཀར་ཆ་གཙུག་ལ་ཡོ། །
གཞན་ཡང་ཕྱུགས་མཛོད་རྩུ་པ་ན། ཕྱ་རྗེ་ངས་ཀྱི་བ་ཡ་གཞེར་མན་ཆེད། ཏོ་ཏུ་ཡང་ཀ་ཡན་ཆོད

༄༅། །དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་ཡང་། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཕྱིར་དུ་བཞུགས་སུ་དུས་སུ། ཡུ་ཐུང་ས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཆ་ཞན་
གདན་ཆུང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དགོན་པ་ཆེ་དམ་ཞིབ་པ་ལ། སྔོ་བམ་ཐང་མ་ཡིན་སྐད། དེ་ལྟར་མཛད་ནས་
དགེ་སློང་མགོ་བརྒྱད་ཀུ་ཤུ་བདུད་བཞེས་ཙམ་ནས། སྨན་གཅིག་པོ་དང་བཅུད་ལེན་གྱི་དབུ་དང་ནས།
ཡུ་ཐུང་ས་ཀྱི་བཞེས་སྐྱུར་དུ་ཞབས་མཇལ་བ་ནས། རྗེ་བོ་ནས་ལ་ནས། མ་ཧཱ་ཡོ་ཏྲ་བཅེན་པ་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་ས་ཚོས
མང་པོ་ཉེས་པ་ཡིད། ཡོ་ཏྲ་མཁས་པ་གྲགས་པ་འདྲ་བ་ཆེ་བ། དེའི་ཡོ་ཏྲ་བརྒྱ་དགོས་པ་གསུང་། ཡུམ་
ཡོ་ཏྲ་བས་ཀྱིས་པ། སྡེ་ལྔན་སོ་ཀྲུ་ས་བཀར་ཡོ་ཏྲ་ཧེ་མཐོང་ལ། སྐྱིས་དགེ་པ་ཚོགས་ཆེ་ལ་ཞེ་ལ་ད་འགྲོ་
གསུང་ལ་ནས་མ་བཞེད་དོ། །རྗེ་བོ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས། བོ་བོ་སྙིང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ལྷ་མེད་གསུང་ནས་ 118

ཐུགས་ལ་སྨུག་པ་ལྟར་མཛད་དོ། །དེ་ནས་ཡོ་ཏྲ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་ལ་བ་ལ་བྱ་སྐོར། །དེ་ནས་ཡུ་ཐུང་ས་ཀྱི་བཞེང་
གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ། ལོ་གཅིག་ཁྱུད་པ་ཤར་དམ་བཅའ་བ་མཛད་ད་དེ་སྔོ་ཡི་ཕྱི་རོལ་ལ་འདུང་བ། ཡི་གེ་ཟླ་
བ་ལ། བདག་ལ་སད་དེ་དང་ས་ང་བར་རྟེན་ཞིང་པ་སྐད་ཅིག་ཙམ་ཀྱི་ཤར། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མས་ཆང་
བཅོད་ཙམ་ཅིས་བྱིས་སོ། །དེའི་ནུབ་རྨི་ལམ་དུ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་པ་ལ། བདག་ལ་སང་པོ་དང་ང་བདར
བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་དང་སྐད་ཅིག་ཙམ་བྲལ་ཞིང་། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མས་ཆང་པ་ཆེད་ཅིག་ཙམ་བྲིས་སོ། །
དེའི་ནང་རྨི་ལམ་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་པ་ལ། བདག་ལ་སང་པོ་དང་ང་བདར་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་དང་སྐད་
ཅིག་ཙམ་བྲལ་ཞིང་། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མས་ཆང་པ་ཆེད་ཅིག་ཙམ་བྲིས་པས། ལྷ་ཁང་གི་ཞང་པོ་ག་ལས་སུ་གསེར་གྱི

༄༅། །ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་པ་ལ། བདག་ལ་སང་པོ་དང་སང་པ་ཧ་དྲུག་ལ་རྨ་བསྟན་པའི་སེམས་སྐད་ཅིག་ཙམ
བྲལ་ཞིང་། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མས་ཆང་པ་ཆེད་ཅིག་ཙམ་བྲིས་སོ། །རྒྱ་རི་མ་པ་བདུན་ལ་རྨ་བཅས་ཏེ་ཐུགས་དམ
རྩེ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མཛད་དོ། །དེ་ནས་རྨ་བཅས་རྣམས་ཆར་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཏེ། ཆོས་སྐྱ་སྤྲོས་བྲལ་ལྟ་བའི་ཏིང་ང
འཛིན་བརྟེན་སོ། །དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གནས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་དུ་མར་སྒྲུབ་པ་མང་དུ་མཛད་དོ། །དེ་ནས
ལོ་རྒྱུད་རྣམ་པ་གསུམ་ལ། མང་ཕྱིར་ཡོ་ཏྲ་བཅུད་རྒྱུད་ཕྱིར་བབ་ལ། ཏ་ཡ་བ་གསལ་བ། །མཛད་ལོ
ཙམ་བཞིན་ཚོན་ག་ཞིན་ནུ་ལ། ཚོ་ལེ་མེད་གསལ་ལ་ལོ། །སྔ་ཡོ་ཏྲ་བདག་བླ་ལ་རི་ཁྲ་གསལ་ལ་བོ། །དེ་ལྟ་བུའི
སྐྱེ་ས་མཆོག་དཀའ་ཐུབ་ལྷ་མས་པའི་རྣམ་སུ་ཡུམ་གྱི་སྣང་བ་ཡ་ཤེ་ལ་རྒྱ་ཏ་གཅིག་བབས་པ་དེ་ནི། །སྐུ་མཛེས་ཤིང་ 119

ཚད་མེད་པའི་སྟོན་པོ། །སྣང་བ་གཡོན་པ་ལ་ཐུ་ཁྱུག་གཅིག་བབས་པ་ནི། ཆོས་ཀྱི་གསུང་སྙན་སྒྲོག་པའི་དོ་ར་ཧེ
སྐྱེ་གཙུག་ནང་རྩེ་བབས་པ་དེ་ནི། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡོ་ཏྲ་མཛད་པའི་དོན་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ་བྲེ
ར་བས་ཀྱི་མི་ནམ་ཀྱི་སེམས་འཛིན་ཞིང་། སྐུལ་ཞིང་བཞེངས་པ་དང་། མི་རྒྱུད་རྣམས་རབས་ཆད་ཀྱི་དགོས་ཡོད་དེ
དེ་རྩེ་ནི་ཞིག ཡོ་ཏྲ་བཅེན་པོ་དེ་ནི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། གང་ཟག་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཞིག
ཉི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི། དེ་ནས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཨ་ཡང་དགོ་ར་ལ་འཛམ་པ་གཡལ་ཆེའོ། །ཡང་བླ་མ་ཡོ་ཏྲ་བདེ་ཁ་ཆེ་རུ་ཀ་ང་མགྲོན་ག
བས་མའ་ཕེལ་ཀྱི་དོ་རས་གྲུབ་བརྟེན་ནས། ཁ་ཆེ་ནས་ལས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་རྟེན་ཁ་རྩེ་གོ་ཁར་དུ་ཤིང་ཏེ་ལ་སྤྱན་དྲངས
པས། བླ་བ་གསུམ་འགོ་རྡོར། བླ་མ་དང་ཡིན་ན་ཞབས་མ་དྲག་གི་བཞབས་པ་ཡལ་ཀ་ལོ།།

༄༅། །དེ་ནས་བཅུ་པ་བཞུགས་གནས་མཁའ་སྤྱོད་དུ་གཤེགས་པ་ནི། ལ་ལ་ལས་ནི་ལྷོ་མི་རྒྱ་མི་ལ་ལྷ་ཕྱི་དང་ནུ་རྡོ་ཡི་ཁ་
ནས་ཕྱུང་བ་ལྷག་མེད་དུ་གཤེགས་སོ་ཞེར་ཏེ། དེ་ནི་ལོ་གཅིག་སྐྱབ་པ་མཛད་པ་ཡིན། །མཁའ་སྤྱོད་དུ་
གཤེགས་པ་ནི་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་ན་གང་ཞེ་ན་ཐེ་བས་བ་ཡིན་ན། ཁ་ཆེ་འི་ར་ཕྱིར་གོ་ནུ་ལུག་གི་ལོ། དགུང་ལོ་དགུ་བཅུ་གོ་བརྒྱད་
དགོངས་ཅམ་ན། དགུང་ལྷ་བརྒྱུད་གི་ཚེས་བཅུ་བདུན་ལ། ཤར་མ་རུ་པ་ལ་ཞེབས་པའི། །ཕུ་ཕྲང་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་ཡི་ཅས་
བྲག་ཕུག་དང་། ཤི་ལྷ་ར་ཡང་སྐུ་རུ་ཞུ་བ་དང་། ཁ་ཆེ་གོ་ཁར་གྱི་རི་ཕྱིར་གོ་ནས་མཁའ་སྤྱོད་དུ་གཤེགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་
བསྟན་ཏེ། བཀའ་བ་ཞི་གདུང་བརྒྱད་དབང་སྙགས་པའི་གྲུབ་པ་བུ་སློབ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གདུང་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས། སྐུ་གདུང་ནི་དགོན་པ་ཡུང་
འདྲུང་ཅམ་ཡང་མ་བྱུང་སྟེ། འདི་གཏེར་གྱི་མཐུན་འཛུགས་ཅམ་དུ། །རང་བགྲོལ་ཤིང་རྟགས་འོལ་མ་ནི་ཚོས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཡང་དམར་བ་གསོ་

ཞེས་གསུང་ངོ་། ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་རོལ་མོའི་སྒྲ་འབྲུག་ལྟར་སྒྲ་ཚིགས་སུ་བསྒྲགས་ཏེ། །རང་བསྒྲོལ་དེ་དག་ཀྱང་མཁའ་སྤྱོད་དུ་
གཤེགས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་ཟླ་གཅིག་ཙམ་མི་མ་ཡིན་ཚོགས་ལ་དཀར་བ་རྣམས་དང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་
ལྷ་འདྲེ་ཀུན་ཀྱང་། མཚན་མོ་རིས་ཀྱིས་མཆོད་དེ་འདས་པ་བདག་བྱུང་བ་ལ། ཚོས་ལ་མཆོད་ཡུའི་ཞག་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཇའ་ཚོན་
དང་། མེ་ཏོག་གི་ཆར་མང་དུ་བབ་སོ། །དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་ཚིང་དེ་སྐད་ལ་འཆད་དོ། །རྡོ་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་ཅིག་ལག་ལས་འདི་སྐད་དུ་
ལྷས་ཁྱུང་པ་རྩ་བ་དེ་རྣམས་ཅི་ལགས་ཞུས་པས། མཚོ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་བ་རྒྱ་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་དེས་མི་མ་ཡིན་རྣམས་ལ་
སྙིང་རྗེ་བར་དགོངས་ནས། འདི་སྐད་རྣམས་ལ་ནམ་མཁའ་ནས། མི་རྟག་པའི་ཆོས་གསུངས་པས་མི་མ་ཡིན་པ་རྣམས
ཆོས་ལ་དགའ་བའོ། །དེ་ནས་ཆད་ཀྱང་ཞལ་ལས་འདས་པ་ཡིན་གསུངས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་དེ་དང་མཚོ་སྐྱེས་པ་བཞི་བུས་ཕྱོགས་པའི

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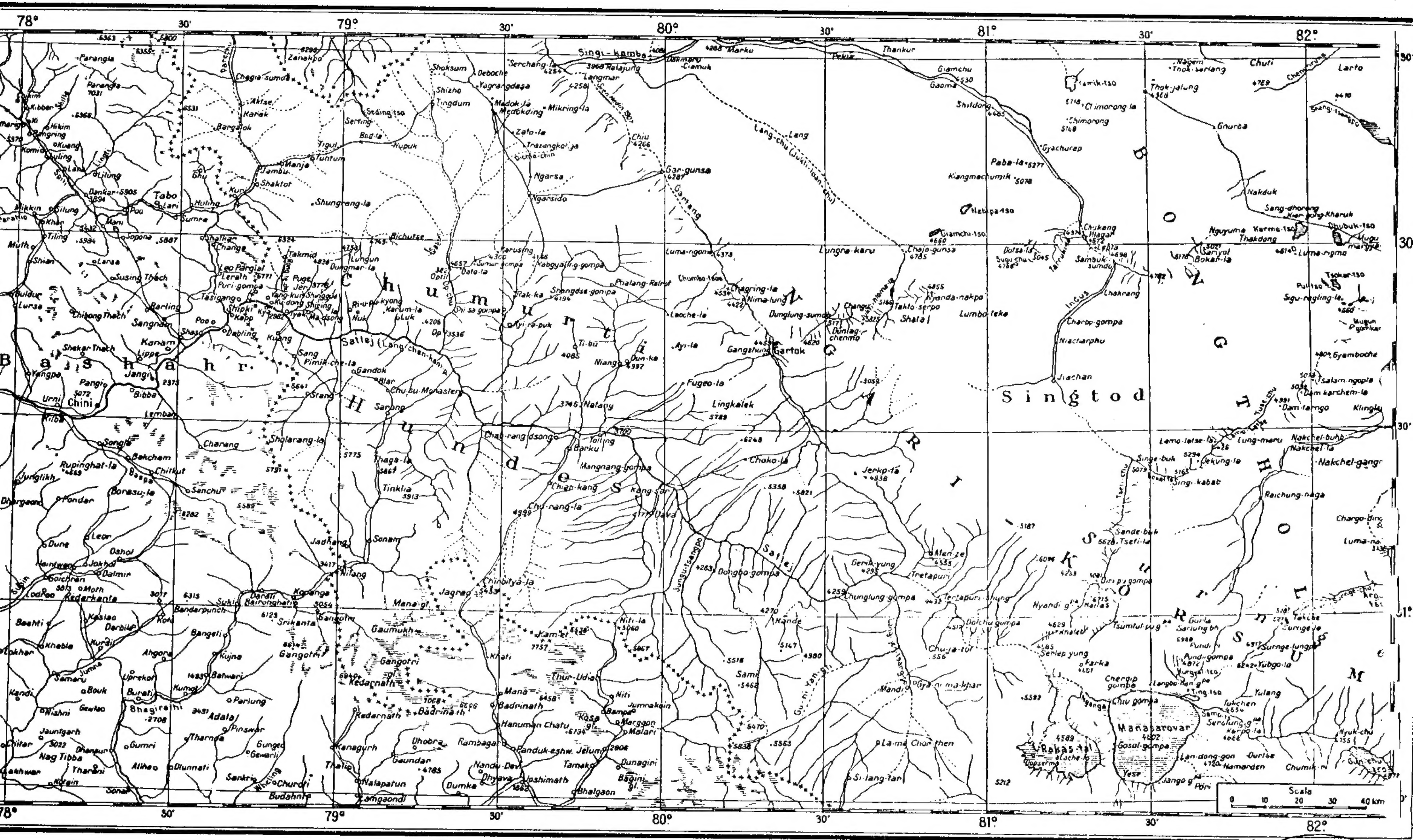
༄༅། །སྔོན་ཆད་དུ་ཨ་ཙར་གྲོ་མ་གསེར་གྱི་གོ་ཆས་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་གཤེགས་སོ། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས
འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་ཞབས་དྲུང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་གསུང་ཞིང་། ཕྱར་མོ་སྤྲུལ་པ་མཛད་དོ། །མཚོ་སྐྱེས་བ་ཆེན་པོ
བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོའི་འབྲུང་ལས་དཀའ་སྤྱོད་སྒྲུབ་མ་ནམ་ཕྱར་ཞིབ་སྤྱོད་ལོ
རྒྱས་ཅིས་བྱ་བ་རྫོགས་སོ། །ཐུབ་པའི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་ཆེན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་མཛོད་འཛིན་ཅིང་། །ཕྱི་ལས་བཟང་པོས
འདི་ནི་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་བསྒྲེད་པ་ཡི། །རྒྱལ་སྲས་དེ་ལ་གུས་པས་ཕྱག་མི་སྨྲ་ར་བྱ་ལ་ཏེ། །ཚེ་རབས་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཞབས་
ཀྱི་པདྨ་མཆོད་པར་ཤོག །ཤྲཱི་ཧཱུྃ་ས་ཏྭམ་མ་ལ། ཏྭཱ་ཤྲཱི་ པདྨ་ཡོ་ཏ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཞལ་འབྱེད་ལོ་རྒྱུས
ཅིས་བྱུང་བ་གོ་འི་ཕྱི་ཐར་བ་དཔེ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱིས། ཐོ་སྒྲིང་དུ་ཡི་གར་བཀོད་པའོ། །འདི་ནི་དགེ་བས་སེམས

ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་དག །ཞིང་ཕྱོགས་བདེ་བ་ཅན་དུ་སྐྱེ་བར་ཤོག །རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོའི་གོ་འཕང་
ཐུར་ཐོབ་ཤོག །
ཤུ་བྷ་མསྟུ་ཡཾ། །



78°
30'
79°
30'
80°
30'
81°
30'
82°
Singi-kamba
Gartok
Singtod
Chumurti
Hundes
Satlej
Indus
Manasarovar
Rakas-tal
Tabo
Chini
Badrinath
Kedarnath
Gangotri
Gaumukh
Mana
Niti
Tolling
Chabrang dsong
Dongbo gompa
Tretapuri
Gurla
Jangi
Shipki
Lang-chu
Leng
Thankur
Gnurba
Larto
Chuti
Scala
0
10
20
30
40 km